

**AN ACCOUNT**  
**OF THE**  
**CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS.**

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AN ACCOUNT

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OF THE

CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS



R. H. SNEYD HUTCHINSON,

SUPERINTENDENT, CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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I WAS posted to the Chittagong Hill Tracts in 1890, and after a short stay in Rangamati was moved up to the South Lushai Hills. While there I was fortunate enough to serve in the military expeditions, and to get more than the average share of political work.

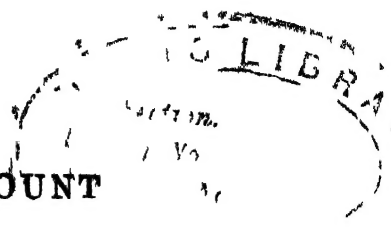
On the transfer of the South Lushai Hills to Assam in 1898, I reverted to Bengal, but in 1900 was again posted to the Hill Tracts.

The peoples of the hills have always greatly interested me, and I have made a careful study of their manners and customs. The result I have embodied in this work on the Hill Tracts, and I trust it may prove of interest to the reader.

The early chapters, I fear, partake of the style of an official report submitted for the compilation of a Government blue-book, but my endeavour has been to place before the reader in as concise a way as possible all the important details of the country and its administration.







AN ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS.

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CHAPTER I.

Name, location, and area of district—Natural features—Climate—History—Dates of formation—Military operations in connection with the Lushais—Rivers—Lakes—Roads.

THE name of the Chittagong Hill Tracts District is given to the belt of mountainous country\* that lies between latitude 21° 25' and 23° 45' north, and longitude 91° 45' and 92° 50' east.

It comprises an area of 5,138 square miles, and is included in the Province of Bengal and governed by the Lieutenant-Governor of that Province\*.

This tract of country is bounded on the north by the independent state of Hill Tipára, on the west by the district of Chittagong, on the south by the province of Arracan, and on the east by similar belts of country called respectively the Arracan Hill Tracts and the Lushai Hills.

The district is divided into four main valleys, constituted by its four principal rivers, the Pheni, Karnáphuli, Sangu, and Matamuri, and their tributaries, and is marked by chains of hills, which traverse the district from end to end, running in a north-westerly direction.

\* *Note.*—The district now forms part of the lately created Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, and is governed by the Lieutenant-Governor of that Province (1896).

The Sangu and Matamuri rivers, until they enter the plains, run parallel to the ranges, thus forming two well-defined valleys. The Karnaphuli and the Pheni flow transversely across the main lines of the hills, and several valleys are formed by large tributaries of the Karnaphuli entering it at right angles to its course.

The geological formation resembles that of the Arracan Yoma, and consists chiefly of sandstone belonging to the older Eocene of the Tertiary period.

The hills range from a few hundred to four thousand feet in height. The highest point is Keokradang (4,034 feet), to the east of the district, on the watershed of the Tuichong and Rainkhyong rivers. Other high points are Rakhamoin Tong (3,017 feet) and Polytai (2,857 feet).

The valleys are covered for the most part with dense virgin forest, the home of wild beasts of all descriptions, but they are slowly yielding to the advance of civilisation, and are being converted into rich arable lands, capable of producing food and other grains in abundance. The greater portion of the district is covered with tree and bamboo forests, the best localities of which are reserved as closed forests by the Forest Department of the Government of India. The produce of these forest reserves can only be removed by special license, and in conformity with the rules and regulations for the time enforced by the Forest Department. The area of forests thus reserved amounts to 1,383 square miles, or a little more than a quarter of the total area of the district. The forests contain a great variety of valuable timber trees, and have large areas under bamboo and cane. The scenery throughout the Hill Tracts is very picturesque. The mixture of hill and valley, densely covered with forest and luxurious vegetation, yields the most beautiful and varied effects of light and shade. The rivers slowly meandering on their way to the sea,

now shimmering like liquid gold, and again reflecting in heavy dark shadows every object within reach, all combine to make a picture not easily forgotten.

The climate has an evil reputation, but this has been much exaggerated. When the district was first occupied in the early sixties, and before there had been any clearance of jungle or opening out of the country by cultivation, the climate was doubtless deadly, but matters have improved very much since then, and the climate now compares favourably with that of the eastern districts of Bengal.

The valleys are undoubtedly very unhealthy at certain seasons of the year, and malaria is prevalent. The most unhealthy periods are the beginning and end of the rains, when the pools of stagnant water afford excellent breeding ground for the mosquito of the anopheles genus. The maximum and minimum temperature in the shade vary between  $90^{\circ}$  and  $50^{\circ}$ , but the excessive moisture renders the heat particularly trying and exhausting, especially to Europeans.

The average yearly rainfall approximates 90 inches at Rangamati and 95 inches at Bandarban. The most recent cyclone was the memorable one of October 24th, 1897. It caused tremendous devastation to the forest and a certain loss of life, but fortunately its tracks lay through the least populated part of the district, and it finally exhausted itself a little north of the Lushai Hills post at Lungleh. Earthquake shocks are fairly common, and the great shock of June 1897 was felt in all its severity. Owing to the absence of masonry buildings its effects were not noticeable at the time. Later in the year, however, considerable damage was done owing to the occurrence of land-slips throughout the district, due to the action of rain water on the fissures caused by the earthquake. The district is liable to severe storms

from the north-west in the months of March and April. These storms spring up with exceeding suddenness, the wind blows with hurricane force, the lightning and thunder are awe-inspiring, and the rain comes down in a deluge; but they pass as quickly as they come. Terrific thunderstorms accompany the approach and departure of the rainy season. Very heavy mists cover the valleys during the months of November, December and January, and the sun is not visible till 10 or 11 o'clock in the morning. These mists are very dreary, but not unhealthy. It is a very fine sight when standing on one of the high hills, in the early morning, to look upon the mist below, like a billowy sea stretching far and wide, while about and around like a beautiful canopy, is the bright blue sky. The mist, however, soon rises and envelopes all in its impenetrable mantle. During the dry summer months of April and May epidemics of cholera and small-pox are to be guarded against. These are invariably introduced from the plains by floating traders or imported labour. September is a particularly bad month for fever.

The Chittagong Hill Tracts were first treated as a separate district in 1860 and administered from Chandraghona, a village on the Karnaphuli river, situated on the present western boundary of the district, about 26 miles from Chittagong. In 1865 the head-quarters were moved to Rangamati, 65 miles up the river from Chittagong. In 1892, consequent on the annexation by the British Government of the Lushai Hills, the Chittagong Hill Tracts were treated as an independent subdivision of Chittagong, and special rules were framed for its administration. Finally, in 1900, a regulation was passed by the Government of India for governing the Hill Tracts. They were constituted a separate district, and placed under a Superintendent.

The history of the Chittagong Hill Tracts is a record of constantly recurring raids on the part of the bordering hill tribes, against whom it has been necessary to send several punitive expeditions. The earliest record of our dealing with the people of these hills is a letter from the Chief of Chittagong to Warren Hastings, the Governor-General of India, dated April 10th, 1777. It complains of the aggression and violence of a mountaineer named Ramu Khan, the leader of a band of Kukis. Again, in the same year, military help was required for the protection of the inhabitants against these Kukis. In 1860 the same tribe made a murderous raid into the Tipára district, killing 186 British subjects and taking over a hundred prisoners. In January of the following year a military force was assembled at Barkal, situated on the river Karnaphuli, 26 miles north of Rangamati, to punish the offenders, but the village of the Chief, 18 miles north-east of Barkal, was found deserted and in flames, and the negotiations which followed for the pacification of the country ended in the submission of their Chief, named Rattanpuiya, in October 1861.

During the years 1864, 1865, 1866, the Lakhers, then called Shendus, in reality an offshoot of the Tlang Tlang clan, and closely allied to the Lai tribe residing in the country south of Lungleh, made several aggressive raids. Rattanpuiya, the head of the Sailo clan of Kukis occupying the ranges between Barkal and the source of the Karnaphuli river, had now become our ally, and was in receipt of an annual subsidy to prevent raids. He, however, was wiped out by the powerful clan of Howlongs between 1866 and 1871.

The same clan in 1870-71 perpetrated a series of raids of an unusually aggravated character, in the course of which the lives of several European tea-planters were sacrificed, and the little nine-year old daughter of one of

them, named Mary Winchester, together with many native subjects, were carried away captive by the raiders. These outrages determined the Government to undertake effective reprisals. Two military columns entered the Lushai country simultaneously—one from Cachar under General Bouchier, the other from Chittagong under General Brownlow. The late Commander-in-Chief of the British Army, Lord Roberts, then a Lieutenant-Colonel, accompanied the Cachar column.

The Cachar column consisted of five hundred men each, from the 22nd Punjab Infantry and 42nd and 44th Assam Light Infantry, with half a mountain battery and a company of Bengal Sappers and Miners, while the Chittagong column had the 27th Punjab Infantry, 2nd and 4th Gurkha Rifles and half a mountain battery. Each of the columns was also accompanied by a hundred armed police. These columns experienced many hardships, and were much reduced by sickness, but they met with little active opposition. Mary Winchester and several other captives were surrendered to the Chittagong column. The expedition penetrated as far as the village of Lalbura, the son of Volonel, a noted chief of the Howlong tribe, who dwelt in the northern Lushai Hills. The tribes tendered their submission and the columns were withdrawn. Lord Roberts named the famous white Arab charger that carried him so well between 1877 and 1896 "Volonel," after the great Kuki Chief. This noble steed, by the special permission of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, was decorated with the Kabul Medal with four clasps, and the Kabul-Kandahar Star. The effects of these operations were not very lasting. In 1888 trouble again broke out, culminating in the massacre by the Lakhers, on February 3rd, of a survey party under Lieutenant Stewart, when practically within sight of Rangamati, the head-quarters

of the district. This unfortunate officer, together with two sergeants of the Leinster Regiment and a small escort of armed police, was engaged in survey operations and had bivouacked for the night in the forests. They were so near Rangamati that they imagined themselves secure from any attack, and took no precautions to guard against a surprise. Unfortunately a hunting party of Lakhers were out, and came on the unguarded encampment, which they rushed and secured the heads of the party. It subsequently transpired that Howsata, the Lakher Chief, was in treaty to marry one of the Princesses of the Tlang Tlang tribe, and a certain number of heads was demanded to prove his valour. Fate decreed that he should come upon the unfortunate survey party, and the temptation to secure the coveted trophies and win great renown was too great to be resisted. A punitive expedition was sanctioned and entered the Lushai country in 1890, and from that time forward the country was occupied by a military force. The Lushai Hills were annexed and divided into two districts, the northern hills being placed under the administration of the Assam Government, and the southern hills under that of the Government of Bengal. After considerable fighting and trouble, the country was finally disarmed. The last of the troops were withdrawn in 1894, and the administration became entirely Civil. In 1898 the two districts were amalgamated under the Assam Administration, and an annual subsidy of three and-a-half lakhs\* of rupees, for administrative purposes, was granted by the Bengal Government.

#### RIVERS.

The rivers of the district form the principal means of communication, and a description of the Karnaphuli,

\* One lakh = 1,00,000.

which is the most important river in the district, may prove of interest to the reader.

The Karnaphuli known to the Hill people as Kynsa Khyoung is supposed to derive its Bengali name from the Sanskrit "Karna" ear and "phuli" flower, literally the Ear-flower or Earring. The daughter of a Muhammadan Wazir of Chittagong during the Mogul rule is credited with dropping her earring into the river while out on a pleasure trip.

The river rises in the hills to the north of the Lushai subdivisional post of Lungleh, and has a total length of 170 miles. After a most tortuous course through the hills, the river emerges into the plains of Chittagong at Chandraghona, and, flowing past Chittagong, falls into the Bay of Bengal.

The river is navigable for ocean-going steamers up to Chittagong, a distance of 9 miles. Rangamati is 65 miles above Chittagong, to the north-east. The river is navigable for country boats with a carrying capacity of from two to three hundred maunds\* up to Barkal, 26 miles above Rangamati. Here there are some very fine rapids about two miles in length. During the Lushai Expedition of 1888-89 a light tramway was constructed along the right bank for the conveyance of stores. Above the rapids to Demagiri, a distance of 40 miles, the river is navigable for boats carrying fifty maunds. A series of rapids and falls from Demagiri to the source of the river render further progress impossible, except for small dug-outs with a carrying capacity of ten maunds, and even then portage is frequent.

The scenery from the source of the river to Demagiri is grand. The river winds in and out between high mountains covered with dense jungle to the water's edge, then through precipitous rocky gorges, over rapids, and

\* One maund = 82 lbs.





KAINAPHULE RIVER ABOVE CHANDRAGHONA



COLLECTING FAMILIORS OR EXORI



falls, with here and there big deep pools whose dark and silent waters, fringed with heavy forest, teem with every variety of fish.

Between Demagiri and Barkal the scenery is uninteresting. The river flows sluggishly through long reaches, lined with tall elephant grass, which effectually shuts out any view. At Barkal, however, the scene changes to one of great grandeur. High cliffs tower on the left bank; the river breaks up into channels flowing between forest-covered islands, and then, opening out into a big pool, dashes down a long stretch of rapids, between huge boulders, the bubbling waves breaking through the rocks with the fitful roar of a surf-beat shore. The next point of interest is the Kasalong gorge, 14 miles above Rangamati. Here the river flows between high cliffs of a brown vitreous rock. The effects of light and shade through this gorge on cliff and river are very magnificent. Between Kasalong and Chandraghona the scenery is dull, but one passes several villages of Chakmas on the banks, and there are some pretty reaches within the limits of the Sitapahar forest reserve. The scenery just before the river finally leaves the hills and debouches into the plains at Chandraghona is exceedingly pretty, and most refreshing to those who have been used to the dead level monotony of the scenery of Lower Bengal.

The following are the important tributaries of the Karnaphuli within the Chittagong Hill Tracts:—The Kaptai, Rainkhyong, Shubholong and Thega on the left bank, and the Chengri, Kasalong, and Boro Harina on the right. These tributaries are navigable for country boats to a distance of from five to ten days' journey.

The influence of the tide reaches as high as Kasalong in the open season, but during the freshets in the

rains so great is the rush of water that ships at Chittagong do not swing to the tide for some days in succession.

The scenery of the other rivers of the Hill Tracts, though on a smaller scale, is much the same as that already described and calls for no special mention. They are only navigable for country boats of light draught.

The Pheni river separates Hill Tippera from the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

The Sangu is in the south of the district. The upper reaches of this river are known to the Maghs as Sabok Khyoung, and near Bandarban as Rigray Khyoung giving the name to the sect to which the Bohmong or ruling family belongs. In the plains it is known as Sangu which is a corruption of "Sankha" a shell. The river is tidal to within a short distance of Bandarban.

The Matamuri or Moree Khyoung is south of the Sangu and flows parallel to that river, it is extremely shallow and of little importance.

There are two small lakes in the district. The Bogakine and Rainkhyongkine. The former is situated at a considerable elevation to the east of Ruma some 16 miles inland from the Sangu river. The latter is on the watershed of the Rainkhyong river. The Bogakine is small, but of great depth, while the Rainkhyong is fairly large. I have recently visited the Bogakine which is held in superstitious awe by the Maghs, so much so, that they perform an annual puja\* to the spirit of the lake, who is supposed to influence the fate of the Jums. I accompanied the Bohmong and a party of some two hundred Maghs on an expedition to the lake, and it proved an interesting journey. We left the

\* Puja—a sacrifice or sacred festival.

Sangu a little below Ruma and immediately commenced a sharp ascent; arrived at the summit we descended into the bed of the Ruma river. We followed the river for six miles wading from one side to the other, as there was no regular path, then we struck up the Boga stream and ascended steadily for another six miles; the ascent up this rock bed was most arduous, and in places we had to make a ladder of bamboos to surmount the steep rocks; then we struck up a steep hill side through thick bamboo forest and after a couple of miles reached the summit of the range and looked down on the Boga-kine about a hundred feet below. We had to skirt round two sides till we came to the camping ground that had been prepared for us, with a couple of bamboo huts as shelter. The journey was a severe one and though we made a start by seven in the morning, it was 4 P. M. before we reached, and we were going hard the whole time. However, we soon made ourselves comfortable, and I had a raft prepared and proceeded to set forth and measure the depth. The Bohmong and his people entreated me not to go, as some evil fate would surely overtake me, and instanced the experience of an officer who once before visited the lake and insisted on going out on a raft. No sooner had the raft got clear of the side, than it broke up and the officer was, with difficulty, rescued from drowning. However, I explained that this was all the more reason that no mishap would happen now, as due obeisance had been done to the presiding spirit of the waters. Accompanied by my Babu\* and orderly we paddled about the lake and I took soundings with a long cord attached to a heavy stone. I found the bottom at 125 feet. I daresay there are deeper holes, for the hill people insist that it is fathomless. Their method of measurement consists in

\* Babu clerk.

thrusting down a long bamboo into the water and if it comes up without touching, they say "no bottom." The lake is surrounded on three sides by the summits of hills rising at the most 150 feet from the level of the water. These points are covered with bamboo forest; on the fourth side it is more or less plateau land, covered with tree forest, the elevation is between 1,500 and 2,000 feet. In shape the lake is a parallelogram and of such exactness that one could almost believe it was the work of human hands. The characteristics of this sheet of water are certainly strange. There is apparently no outlet, there is no water anywhere near and the elevation of the lake above the head of the Boga stream must be at least 500 feet, the rise and fall of the water level throughout the year is only a few inches and there is no weed growth in the water. The hill men assert that sometimes the water is perfectly clear and at other times discoloured; at the time of my visit it certainly could not be called clear, though the water in the middle was clearer than that near the edges. In taste the water was not pleasant and seemed to have a metallic taste. The great peculiarity, however, is that there are absolutely no fish in the lake and a few live specimens that were brought by the Bohmong speedily came up dead when released in its waters. I believe that there are hot springs or gases similar to those found in the Sitakund range of the Chittagong district and that these become active at certain periods at the bottom of the lake and discolour and taint the water, rendering piscine and vegetable life an impossibility. The water certainly has no deleterious effect on human beings, for I drank a very large quantity on arrival and felt no ill effects. In the evening we all collected round a large camp fire and I suggested that we should have a "sing-song," the suggestion was received with

hearty approval, and after a lot of persuasion two youths came forth and sat down near me and sang with great diffidence. While this was going on, I noticed an old gentleman edging in nearer and nearer till finally he secured a seat in front of me, and at the earliest opportunity broke into song. The verses he sang had topical allusions to the journey and my presence, as also to the powers of the Boga Spirits; at the termination of each verse the whole crowd would burst into the "Hoia" or hill cry, and it would re-echo from the hills producing a weird and at the same time a distinctly pleasing effect, so much so, that I insisted on a repetition each time of the Hoia chorus. The powers of this old gentleman were simply marvellous and he went on without ceasing for half an hour, when I suggested he should have a drink, an offer he accepted with the keenest avidity and emptied half a tumbler of raw whisky without a wink; he then settled himself down to sing again, and it was with the greatest difficulty that I could persuade him to give the others a chance. This is a peculiarity with the hill people. I have noticed it several times when present at Lushai feasts, the old gentlemen are always to the fore in any sing-song, and once wound up, it requires physical force to be added to moral persuasion before they consent to make way for the younger generation. We passed a very pleasant evening and it was quite late before I turned in. The following morning the Bohmong performed his "puja" to the water spirit; it consisted in erecting a bamboo altar in the water and decorating it with marigold flowers and placing thereon a coccoanut, rice and a few other articles while one of the followers mumbled certain incantations invoking the blessing of the spirit. On the completion of the simple ceremony we started on our return journey.

The Rainkhyong is quite different to the Boga, and is a very much larger sheet of water; it possesses no peculiarity and teems with fish, and has a regular outlet.

#### ROADS.

The district till quite recently only possessed one road, a military first-class bridle-track, known as the Chittagong-Demagiri, Lungleh and Haka Road. This road enters the Hill Tracts from the west and goes due east as far as Rangamati, where after crossing the Karnaphuli river it takes a north-easterly direction, and crossing the Thega river enters the Lushai Hills and reaches Demagiri. It is continued through Lungleh, the subdivisional post of the Lushai Hills, to the Chin Hills post of Haka, under the administration of the Government of Burma. The total length of the road approximates 270 miles. The portion of the road between Chittagong and Rangamati is of great importance, as it is the overland mail route. Beyond Rangamati the mails and stores are carried by boat as far as Demagiri, and this portion of the road is of little importance. It was rapidly constructed to meet the land transport requirements of the Lushai expeditions, and but little attention was shown to proper alignment or grading. Time being the great object, the existing jungle paths were hastily improved, and as a hillman goes straight up one side of a hill and down the other, it can easily be understood that such an alignment would leave much to be desired. However, the traffic along this portion of the road is not great, and does not at present justify any considerable outlay on improvements. With the settlement of the Lushai country the inhabitants of the Hill Tracts moved into the interior of the district, and the question of opening out the country by roads became one of vital importance. A scheme was duly submitted



and received the approval and sanction of the Bengal Government, and a portion of necessary funds has been allotted. When these roads have been constructed the land communications of the district will be in a fairly satisfactory state.

(1) *The Chittagong-Demagiri Road, 90 miles.*—It starts from Chittagong and is available for wheel traffic as far as Raojan, a distance of 23 miles. Thence it becomes a first-class bridle tract bridged as far as Rangamati, a further distance of 23 miles, and is rideable throughout the year. There are District Board rest-houses at Hathazari and Raojan, at the 12th and 23rd mile respectively. The road passes through a tea-garden called Thandacheri, and at the 30th milestone there is an excellent bungalow on the garden, the property of the Kodala Tea Company. The Superintendent of the Company, who lives at Kodala, is always ready to allow the bungalow to be occupied by travellers if previous notice is given. From Thandacheri the road enters the hills and reaches Rangamati at the 46th mile. The third section, 41 miles long, is from Rangamati to the Thega river, the boundary of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, 4 miles from Demagiri. The stages are (a) Rangamati-Shubhalong, 11 miles, with rest-house and small bazar at the latter place; (b) Subhalong-Barkal, 9 miles, with rest-house and bazar at Barkal. There are no rest-houses between Barkal and Demagiri, a distance of 25 miles. At Demagiri there is a rest-house and bazar. This section of the road is rideable only in the cold season, when the rivers Kainda, Shubhalong and Thega are easily fordable. They are quite impassable in the rains. This portion of the road is very badly aligned, and has very steep gradients.

(2) *Rangamati-Mahalcherri Road, 32 miles.*—This road was recently opened and is rideable throughout

the year. There is an unfurnished rest-house about half way at a place called Bureeghat; a rest-house and bazar at Mahalcherri, also a police-station and dispensary. This road is a most important one, tapping as it does the rich valley of the Chengri river.

(3) *Chandraghona-Bandarban Road, 30 miles.*—This road also has only recently been opened out. It is rideable throughout the year. There are unfurnished rest-houses at Bengal-haliya and Kerowpara, each stage being 10 miles. This is an excellently graded road, and a bicycle could be ridden along it in the winter months. There is a furnished rest-house at Chandraghona, also a police-station, post-office, big bazar and dispensary. There is also a furnished rest-house, bazar, police-station, hospital and post-office at Bandarban.

(4) *Bandarban-Shubhalong Road, 8 miles.*—This is a *dāk*\* road connecting the Chittagong District Road at Poang's Hât with Bandarban, and was opened quite recently. There is an unfurnished rest-house at Poang's Hât, belonging to the Bohmong who lives at Bandarban.

In addition to the above roads, it is proposed—

- (a) to carry the Rangamati-Mahalcherri Road through Manikserri, the head-quarters of the Mong Raja, to Ramghar on the Pheni river, and to join the Chittagong District Road near the Dantmara Tea Estate. This road would be a feeder road to the Assam-Bengal Railway;
- (b) to make a direct road between Rangamati and Manikserri, a distance of 30 miles;
- (c) to connect Bandarban with Lama on the Matamuri river;

\* *Dāk* post or mail.

- (d) to open up a line of communication connecting the Cox's Bazar subdivision with the extreme south of the Chittagong Hill Tracts;
- (e) to make a direct road between Chandraghona and Rangamati.

## CHAPTER II.

The Inhabitants of the District—Chakmas—Maghs—Tipperas—Kuki tribes—Physical features—Housing—Domestic animals—Marriage Customs—Divorce—Drink—System of Cultivation—Division of District into Circles—Chakma Circle—Bohmong Circle—Mong Circle—Census figures—Forest Reserves.

THE Chittagong Hill Tracts are inhabited by a variety of tribes, each speaking its own distinct dialect.

This tribe belongs to the eastern group of the Indian Aryan family; the dialect is Chakma, and is a corrupt form of the Bengali language written in corrupt Burmese.

This tribe belongs to the Burma group of the Tibeto-Burman family. The dialect in current use is Maghi, a corruption of Arracanese, which is itself a dialect of Burmese, written in the Burmese characters.

This tribe belongs to the Bodo group of the Tibeto-Burman family, the dialect is Tipára, written in the Bengali characters.

These six tribes belong to the Tibeto-Burman family and, being more or less allied, are grouped together as Kuki. They speak their own dialects and have no written language.

The above tribes will be found fully dealt with in latter chapters, but here I propose to give a general idea of the hillmen, and note such points as are common to them all.

The inhabitants of the Chittagong Hill Tracts are, as a rule, short and of thick-set build. They have splendidly developed chests, arms, and legs, due to the nature of their daily tasks and their physical surroundings. The average man stands about five feet six inches in height, and it is quite the exception to meet with a tall man. The Tipáras are the tallest tribe, but I cannot recall ever meeting a man over six feet in height. The faces are broad, with flat nose, narrow eyes, and high cheek-bones. The hairs on the face are generally pulled out by the root as they appear, so that one seldom sees a hillman with either a moustache or a beard. The houses are built entirely of bamboo, raised from four to six feet from the ground by means of bamboo or wooden supports. The floor and walls are made of bamboo split and flattened out and then woven together. The frame-work of the roof is also made from bamboo, with cross-pieces of wood, the whole securely fastened together with strips of cane. The roof is thatched with palm leaves called "krook pata," cane leaves, or grass. The first-named makes the most lasting roof. Should the roof leak the remedy is simple. A piece of bamboo is split in two, the knots removed, making a clear channel; this is then fastened under the leak with the end projecting through the nearest side wall; the water runs down the bamboo-channel and escapes outside the house. The space between the ground and the floor of the house affords a snug shelter to the household live-stock of goats, pigs and poultry.

The domesticated animals amongst the hill tribes are buffaloes, cows, pigs, goats, dogs and poultry. Among the tribes that live on the hill-tops the methan or gyal takes the place of the buffalo.

Chakmas, Maghs, and Tipáras reside on the river-banks, while the other tribes reside on the summit of

the hills. In the case of the latter, great importance was placed on the strategical position of the hill-top as a protection against sudden raids. Curiously enough the water-supply of the village received but little attention, and is generally found at a level very considerably lower than the village itself. Siege operations have never been in vogue amongst hillmen, and the only method of attack followed has been the rush at the first streak of dawn, the success of the manœuvre entirely depending on a complete surprise. The dwellers by the rivers keep themselves clean, and frequently bathe, but the dwellers on the hills neglect all ablutionary efforts, and are extremely dirty and ill-savoured. This is due to the paucity of water and trouble in conveying it to the village, rather than to any inherent objection to cleanliness; for when they come to any river or stream in the course of their journeys they do not neglect to bathe themselves.

The Chakmas, Maghs, and Tipáras keep very large herds of buffaloes, and their possession by a hillman is a sure sign of opulence. They are used for sacrificial purposes and big feasts, occasionally for ploughing; but as a rule the village herd is allowed to roam about without being put to any use whatever. They are sometimes very fierce, and instances are not uncommon of their killing strangers, so it is advisable to give them a wide berth.

All the hill tribes have an unaccountable dislike for milk, nor do they make clarified butter or ghee, for which there is a considerable demand amongst the plainmen. Among the tribes of the Kuki group milk is looked upon with positive aversion, and is considered equivalent to cow's urine. Hillmen are all very fond of pig's flesh, and they tend their swine with great care, feeding them regularly with excellent food. In

the Chin Lushai country it is not uncommon in times of scarcity for the household slave and the pigs to be fed with the same food. The pigs resemble the Berkshire breed in shape, colour and size. They are allowed to roam about in the village till the time approaches for their slaughter, when they are kept shut up and fattened for a month or so. They do not cut the pig's throat, but sharpen a long bamboo skewer, which they thrust through the heart; this is done so as to retain the blood in the meat.

The men of the Kuki group set great store by their herds of gyal. These are magnificent beasts, and are kept to denote their owner's wealth, being slain only on the occasion of big feasts or a special sacrifice. The milk of the gyal is of the consistency of cream and full of animal fat, but the supply given is very small. Needless to say the Kukis themselves never dream of milking their gyal. My effort to secure a breed giving a larger supply of milk by importing a bull from the plains was not successful. The result was a very fine looking cow, and perhaps the experiment would have proved more satisfactory had we persevered longer. The gyal roam about quite free in the jungles during the day time and return to the village at nightfall. They are inordinately fond of salt and will follow anywhere if tempted with a piece of rock salt. These animals have enormous strength, as I know to my cost. I was once commissioned to get a perfect specimen of a bull gyal for the Calcutta Zoological Garden. After a great search I found a truly magnificent specimen possessing all the necessary points of a perfect animal, the most important of which are that the whole body should be jet black, with grey stockings and grey on the front of the head and between the horns. This animal was secured by the Kukis, and having been bound with several long

ropes of creeper, was handed over to my escort of Goorkha sepoy. There were about forty of us, and we fastened on to the ropes and began to gently tow the animal out of the village. At first all went well, but suddenly it dawned upon the animal that it was being taken away from the village: it lowered its head, gave a huge bellow, and swung round in the opposite direction, and with head and tail erect, gaily dragged us through the village, to the huge delight of the inhabitants. I had to summon their assistance to bring the animal to a standstill, but our united efforts could not make it move again, except to make angry charges at us; nor did the seductive temptation of salt serve any other purpose than to rob us of our spare supply. Finally the Kukis said it was quite useless to attempt to move it without a sacrifice, and an old man was summoned to make the offering. A white cock was procured and some rice beer. The fowl was sacrificed in front of the bull and some blood and wine placed between the horns; then the old man chanted something to the effect that the bull was to go from that village to another, and to go in peace. The coincidence is that the bull made up its mind to go, and was conveyed to our post without difficulty; but strangely enough, a few weeks later, when on the first march down to the plains, it dropped dead of heat apoplexy. The Goorkhas maintained that the old man had cast an evil spell upon it, and that death was due to his machinations.

The hill dog is rather a nice animal. He is short and sturdy, with a very curly tail, and generally of jet black, brown, or, less commonly, a dun colour. He has a general resemblance to the Chow dog of China. Hill dogs are excellent for sport. They are very plucky, and will drive out all game from the densest jungle.



The Kuki group are very partial to dog as an article of food. The dog is given a big meal of boiled rice just before being killed, and is cooked and served with this meal still inside it.

*Marriage.*—Adult marriage prevails among the hill tribes; girls marry between fifteen and sixteen, and men between twenty and twenty-five.

A man may not marry his grandmother on either side, his paternal or maternal aunts, his sisters or step-sisters, or first cousins on the paternal side. With the change of sex the same rule applies in the case of a woman. Polygamy is permitted, but is reserved entirely for the wealthy, as they alone can afford the luxury of paying for and supporting a plurality of wives, to say nothing of meeting the heavy expenses of providing the necessary feasts for the community. Marriage with the deceased wife's sister is recognised; widows are allowed to remarry, and no restriction is placed on their selection. The ceremony is a slight modification of the first. Divorce is easily obtainable by the man for incompatibility of temper on the part of the wife, neglect of household duties, or adultery. The last is not considered a very serious offence, and is generally settled by a fine averaging thirty rupees. The husband must be convicted of cruelty or desertion before a divorce can be obtained by the woman.

Young girls lead an entirely unrestricted life before matrimony. In the event of pregnancy matrimony follows as a general rule. Should the man refuse to make amends by marriage, he is fined thirty rupees and a pig. The latter provides a feast for the village elders who have decided the case. Unchastity after marriage is comparatively rare.

The tribes all drink heavily, but not to the same terrible excess as the Chins and Lushais. It is consoling

to know that the British nation is in no way implicated in the origin or encouragement of this vice. The earliest legends, which are supposed to date back to the time of the creation, are associated with liquor, and their ideas of a happy future life are summed up in an ever-flowing supply of strong drink.

.They are not at all particular as to their diet, and will practically eat all flesh, be it bird, beast, or reptile. Amongst the last-named, snake and Iguana lizards are esteemed as tit-bits.

*Cultivation.*—The system of cultivation followed by the great majority is known as *juming*, a description of which will be found in the chapter devoted to cultivation.

The majority of the inhabitants of the Chittagong Hill Tracts profess Buddhism, but a very large number are purely animists, while many Hindu tenets and rites permeate all the worship.

Before the British occupation the country was divided into two, those living to the north of the river Karnaphuli owning their allegiance to the titular heads of the Chakma tribe, while those residing to the south of the river recognised the Bohmong, or head of the Rigrayssa Maghs, as their Chief. Since our occupancy of the country a third Chief, who is also a Magh, belonging to the Palaingsa clan, has been appointed, and administers the northern portion of the district. He is known by the title of the Mong Raja.

The Chittagong Hill Tracts were originally occupied by the different tribes belonging to the Kuki group. They yielded to, and were driven to the north-east by, the invasion of the Chakmas, who had gained a settlement in the southern portion of the district of Chittagong, but who, in the time of the Burmese wars, were ousted by the Maghs from Arracan, and forced to enter

**The Hill Tracts.** They finally settled in the central and north-eastern portions of them, while their former possessions were absorbed by the Maghs. The Maharaja of Hill Tipára at that time owned a great deal of what now constitutes the northern portion of the Hill Tracts, but when the present boundaries were finally demarcated by Government, his boundaries were placed on the far bank of the Pheni river, and some thousands of his people consequently came under British jurisdiction.

The district is now divided for purposes of administration into three Circles, each presided over by a Circle Chief—

1. Chakma Circle. | 2. Bohmong Circle.
3. Mong Circle.

#### THE CHAKMA CIRCLE.

The Chakma Circle Chief is Raja Bhuban Mohan Roy Chowdhury, and his head-quarters are at Rangamati.

The area of the circle is 2,421 square miles. This total includes 763 square miles of reserved Government forests. Its total population is 48,792. If we exclude the area of forest reserve, we get a density of 29·4 of population to the square mile. Each circle, in addition to its own tribe, has a considerable number of settlers belonging to the other tribes within its boundaries. The following tables give the figures as returned in the census of 1901. The figures given under the heading "Hindus and others" are not divided into sex. They are made up of Europeans, Sonthals and others, in addition to Hindus :—

*Residents in the Chakma Circle.*

			Male.	Female.
Chakma	...	...	18,953	17,254
Magh	...	...	3,521	2,702
Tipára	...	...	901	726
Kuki	...	...	362	316
Mro	...	...	159	149
Kumi	...	...	1	...
Muhammadans	...	...	1,733	323
			}-----}	
Hindus and others	...	...	1,692	
			-----	
Total	...	...	48,792	

## THE BOHMONG CIRCLE.

Bohmong Cholafu Chowdhury is the Chief of the Circle and has his head-quarters at Bandarban on the Sangu river. The circle has the area of 2,064 square miles, including 620 square miles of Forest Reserve, with a population of 44,072, which gives, excluding the Forest Reserve, 30.56 of population to the square mile.

*Residents in the Bohmong Circle.*

			Male.	Female.
Maghs	...	...	11,080	10,699
Mro	...	..	5,224	5,008
Tipára	...	...	1,778	1,425
Chakma	...	...	1,109	833
Kuki and Kumi	...	...	760	708
Pankho and Banjogi	..	..	479	458
Muhammadan	...	...	2,463	265
			}-----}	
Hindu and others	...	...	1,783	
			-----	
Total	...	...	44,072	

## THE MONG CIRCLE.

The Circle Chief is Raja Nefrusain Chowdhury, and his head-quarters are at Manickcherri. The Mong

Raja is of Arracanese descent. The name Raja is not derivatively the Indian word which signifies that the man is a ruler of cultivating subjects who pay him rent. It is a corruption of a Burmese nickname, the significance of which is not particularly respectable. After the formation of the Hill Tracts into a district in 1860, the northern section was found to be a detached portion of Hill Tipára. Though nominally it belonged to the Chakma Chief, yet owing to the distance there was no control over the people, and great inconvenience was experienced by the absence of any head to whom reference could be made when occasion arose. The most respectable and substantial member was Mong Raja Keoja Sain, a Magh who held zamindaries in the district of Chittagong. For administrative reasons Keoja Sain was considerably aggrandized by the authorities, and his nickname was retained till he became the Sarbarakar for a considerable portion of the tracts and finally he was created Circle Chief. The area of the circle is 653 square miles, and it has no reserve forest area. The population of the circle is 31,898, giving a density of 48·8 of population to the square mile. The Kuki group of tribes are unrepresented in this circle.

*Residents in the Circle.*

			Male.	Female.
Tipáras	...	...	9,773	8,738
Maghs	...	...	3,497	3,207
Chakmas	...	...	3,464	2,716
Muhammadans	...	...	118	4
Hindus and others	'	...		381
Total	...	...		31,898

According to the census of 1871 the Chittagong Hill Tracts contained 296 villages, with a population of

63,054. The average density of population was less than 9·16 per square mile, with 1·91 houses to the square mile. Classified according to sex the number of males was 34,330 and females 28,724, the proportion of males being 54·44 per cent.

These figures, however, are not trustworthy, as the revenue of the Chiefs was collected by a capitation tax, a portion of which was paid to Government as tribute. It was therefore to the interest of the Chief to show a smaller population than was actually the case, in order to lessen the percentage claimed for the capitation tax. Later figures are more reliable, and the figures of the last census may be taken as accurately representing the population of the district; for no pains were spared to secure accurate returns:—

Census of 1871	...	...	63,054
Ditto 1881	...	...	101,597
Ditto 1891	...	...	107,286
Ditto 1901	..	...	124,762

The figures of the last census give a density of population of 23 to the square mile, and, if we exclude the area of forest reserves (1,383 square miles) from the total area of the district, we get a density of 33·22 of population to the square mile, or approximately four times the density returned in 1871, at a period when there were no forest reserves existing in the Hill Tracts. Divided into sexes, the census returns give 68,238 males and 56,524 females, the male population being 12 per cent. in excess of the female. This is principally due to the Muhammadan element; of which the males number 4,314 and females 592. The Muhammadan population is principally represented by the people from Chittagong, who carry on a trade by boat, and the shop-keepers in the different bazars. These people do not bring their womenfolk into the hills, and this accounts

for the very great preponderance of Muhammadan males over the females. The civil condition of a thousand males is—unmarried 518, married 443, widowed 39; while of a corresponding number of females 494 are unmarried, 434 married, and 72 widowed. The bulk of the population of the district is divided between the Chakma, Magh, Tipára and Mro tribes. The following table gives the relative strength of the tribes:—

Tribe.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Chakmas ...	23,526	20,803	44,329
Maghs ...	15,098	16,808	31,906
Tipáras .	12,452	10,889	23,341
Mro ...	5,383	5,157	10,540
Kukis ...	841	774	1,615
Kumi ...	761	708	1,469
Khyangs	206	210	416
Banjogis ..	317	349	666
Pankho ...	76	68	144
<b>Total ...</b>	<b>58,690</b>	<b>55,766</b>	<b>114,456</b>

The above figures show that the tribes form nine-tenths of the total population of the district.

The Government reserve forests are as follows:—

	Area. Square miles.
(1) Kasalong, on the river of the same name, an important tributary of the Karnaphuli river ...	736
(2) Rainkhyong, on the river of the same name, also an important tributary of the Karnaphuli river...	213
(3) Sangu on the Sangu river ...	145
(4) Sitapahar on the Karnaphuli river ...	11
(5) Matamuri on the Matamuri river ...	251
<b>Total Area ...</b>	<b>1,356</b>

The dates of the formation of the above reserves are :—

(1)*Matamuri	...	...	1st December	1880.
(2) Kasalong	...	...	1st March	1881.
(3) Sangu	...	...	6th May	„
(4) Rainkhyong	...	...	15th March	1882.
(5) Sitapahar	...	...	1st April	1883.

The Chittagong forest division, comprising not only the Hill Tracts reserves, but also those in the Collectorate or regulation district of Chittagong, is in charge of a Deputy Collector of Forests, acting under the direction and advice of the Conservator of Forests, Bengal Province. His head-quarters, formerly at Rangamati, have been moved in recent years to Chittagong. The forest ranges are in charge of foresters, assisted by forest guards.

The cost of maintenance of the subordinate establishment of the Forest Department resident in the Hill Tracts for the purpose of supervision over the ranges, amounts annually to Rs. 2,712. Owing to the fact that the expenditure of the Division is devoted to the measures required for the collection of tolls on the forest produce extracted from the unclassed State forests of the Hill Tracts, as well as to the administration of the reserves in the Hill Tracts and Collectorate, no separation of the actual expenditure on the reserve of the Hill Tracts is possible.

The first four ranges are allowed to restock themselves by natural reproduction. The last named (Sitapahar), besides replenishment by this agency, which is quite sufficient, unassisted in the case of bamboos (of which the reserve mainly consists), was partially restocked by artificial reproduction up to October 1897, when the great cyclone of that year destroyed the plantations.



Since 1897 no further expenditure has been lavished on this system of restocking. No cultivation is allowed within the area of forest reserve. The revenue derived from the licenses to remove forest produce and the tolls is very considerable, and amounted in 1903-04 to Rs. 86,902.

## CHAPTER III.

**District how administered—Revenue—Police head-quarters and principal villages—trades.**

THE Chittagong Hill Tracts are administered by a Superintendent with Assistant Superintendents.

The district constitutes a sessions division, and the Commissioner of Chittagong is the Sessions Judge. The Government of Bengal exercises the power of a High Court, unto which death sentences are submitted for confirmation. The Commissioner of Chittagong exercises the power of a High Court for all other powers of the said Court.

The three Chiefs, Chakma, Bohmong, and Mong, regulate the affairs of their circles and the actions of the headmen within them. They have powers of fine, of enforcing restitution, and of imprisonment.

Similarly, the headmen regulate the affairs of their mauza, having powers of fine up to Rs. 25, of enforcing restitution, and detention until the Superintendent's orders are received.

The policy of the Government is to interfere as little as possible with tribal customs. Full details of the administration will be found in the Appendix, in the Rules of 1892, and Regulation I of 1900.

In 1846-47 the revenue of the district consisted solely of a capitation tax and amounted to Rs. 1,180, and it was not till 1866-67 that any attempt was made to improve the revenue.

For the purposes of the collection of Government revenue the financial year of the Government is fixed

from the 1st of April of one year to the 31st of March of the following year.

The *jūm* rent or capitation tax was in the days of the Hon'ble East Indian Company's Government borne on the old revenue-rolls of the Chittagong Collectorate under the head of Kapas (cotton) mehal settlements. In those days there was no money current among the hill people and the tribute due was collected in raw cotton. The term capitation tax is a misnomer, as it would lead one to believe that it was a poll-tax, while in reality it was a house-tax, varying individually in amount, but levied only from the head of each household or family who cultivated by *jūm* in the hills.

In the earliest times the Chiefs collected from certain families, irrespective of the part of the country where they might reside originally, their rights only extended to men of their own clan, but as their position became assured and their power consolidated, they collected from other and weaker tribes and villages, till finally the extent of individual authority became represented by definable natural boundaries. The Government of Bengal in January 1870 ordered that the kapas or *jūm* tax was to be raised only from those who *jumed*, and the sum of Rs. 4 was fixed as the legal amount of *jūm* tax payable by each family. It is admitted, however, that there are inequalities in the amount of *jūm* tax paid in the three circles, but this rests on tribal custom and no attempt has been made to equalize the tax or prescribe a uniform rate of payment throughout the district, but our courts recognise the sum of Rs. 4 as a legal tender in full as payment for one year's *jūm* tax on one family. This tax is a tribute payable to the State; it in no way partakes of the nature of rent, or bears any relation to the land cultivated. In 1874 the Government of Bengal decided the *jūm* tax of Rs. 4 a

family should be taken as the basis of assessment. Of this amount one rupee was to be assigned to the village headman for the trouble of collection, and two rupees to the Circle Chief, the remaining one rupee to be paid by the Chief as Government revenue. It was decided not to interfere with the existing arrangements between the Chiefs and their peoples by which some pay more and some less.

The revenue obtained from this source is at present—

			Rs.
Ohakma Circle	...	...	3,155
Bohmong „	...	...	2,918
Mong „	...	...	2,314
			—
			8,387
			—

This sum is far below the amount that should be paid owing to liberal reductions granted by Government in past years for services rendered in connection with the Lushai expeditions as also for exemptions under the tribal custom by which priests, exorcists, bachelors, widowers, widows, the diseased and infirm paid no *jum* tax. The time for a careful revision of the whole scheme by which revenue is paid under the head of *jum* tax has now arrived and a scheme has been submitted to Government which with due allowance made for the rights or privileges of the Chiefs will materially enhance the revenue payable to Government.\*

\* The orders of Government sanctioning the proposed revision have been received and the revenue will for the next ten years be—

			Rs.
Bohmong Circle	...	...	8,772
Ohakma „	...	...	4,863
Mong „	...	...	3,478
			—
			13,003

2. *Plough Revenue*.—When land is required for reclamation by plough cultivation, a settlement is made with the tenant, which is known as an *amalnamah* or lease. This lease is granted for a period not exceeding ten years. For the first three years no rent is charged for the land; after that the amount of rent payable is fixed for a period of ten years. In calculating the amount of rent to be paid, the surroundings and capabilities of the land are taken into consideration. The rent then charged may not be increased till the expiry of the ten years' period, and each subsequent settlement is for a period of ten years. The rate of rent charged at present is purposely kept low, so as to offer every encouragement to the people to take up plough cultivation. Great care is necessary in watching these settlements, as an unscrupulous tenant will take a settlement, and after getting the benefit of the three years' rent-free period, will attempt to throw up his lease without any due reason.

The Superintendent can recommend, and the Commissioner of Chittagong sanction, the subletting of settlements by the tenants, but this privilege is only accorded after careful enquiry. The Government, should occasion arise, can resume actual possession of the land that has been reclaimed, but has to pay the tenant fair compensation. The steady increase in the area of plough cultivation gives promise of a corresponding rise in revenue.

In 1875 there was no revenue at all from plough cultivation, while in 1903-04 the sum of Rs. 22,000 was realised as rent for plough lands, and the acreage returned amounts to acres 14,382. This gives an average rent of one rupee and eight annas for the acre, which is an exceedingly low assessment and capable of material enhancement in future years. The acreage

at present under plough cultivation is divided between the three circles in the following proportion:—

		A.	R.	P.
Chakma Circle ...	...	6,095	1	33
Bohmong „ ...	...	4,112	2	10
Mong „ ...	...	4,174	2	32

When we consider that thousands of acres of virgin soil still remain to be reclaimed in the rich valleys of the rivers, we see what an exceedingly valuable asset the Government possesses, and how every inducement should be given to the people to reclaim the land.

The plough rents are collected through the agency of the Circle Chiefs and mauza headmen, who prepare the jamabandis or rent-rolls of their respective circles and mauzas. These rent-rolls are checked and approved by the Superintendent and then returned to the Chief for collection.

The rent collections are divided in the following proportion:—

Government ...	...	$\frac{1}{4}$	} of one rupee.*
Circle Chief ...	...	$\frac{1}{4}$	
Mauza headman ...	...	$\frac{1}{4}$	

I do not think the rules at present in force are conducive to the rapid extension of plough cultivation. Subletting by leasees is strictly prohibited, and entails the cancellation of the lease when proved. In reality the law is practically a dead letter, and is generally evaded. A man will take a lease of waste land for the purpose of cultivation, he will clear a portion and then sublet, but safeguards himself by taking an agreement that the lessee is his servant, while in reality the lessee is cultivating entirely on his own behalf. If the transaction is called in question by the authorities this agreement is

\* Note—1/4 = 15 rupees; 1 rupee = 1s. 6d.

produced, and the case at once falls through for want of proof.

It must be remembered that the people have become thoroughly accustomed to the plough, and now work it themselves. In former years plaiusmen were engaged at a high monthly wage to plough, plant, and harvest, and as recently as ten years ago it was rare to see a hillman doing his own work, while now it is the exception to see a foreigner working in their fields.

The hillman has now grasped the advantage and management of the plough system of cultivation, but the present inducements are not sufficient to allow of the more wealthy taking up the venture. The ordinary man, on the other hand, is hampered by the want of the necessary funds, for money is only to be borrowed from the mahajan at a very high rate of interest.

The lands suitable for the plough are principally covered with "kagra" or elephant grass, and to clear and bring this into cultivation will cost roughly fifty rupees an acre. The return, however, is so remunerative that it is calculated that a man will be able to purchase a pair of plough buffaloes after two years, the average price for which is seventy-five rupees. If we were to recognise sub-letting under proper conditions, we should, I am convinced, be speedily able to settle all the lands suitable for plough cultivation. The wealthy will have an inducement to take up land and settle their raiyats on the same, and will lay out their money in the reclamation of the land.

The principal restrictions to impose are that sub-letting shall only be recognised amongst hillmen, great care must be taken in giving settlements to plainmen, and such settlements must only be made by the Superintendent and in their case only sub-letting to hillmen be permitted. In all cases of sub-letting, it

will be necessary that the sub-lease be registered in the Superintendent's office and the rights of the sub-lessees must be safeguarded. It would, I think, be advisable for Government to place a sum annually at the disposal of the Superintendent to enable him to make advances to respectable would-be plough cultivators, such advances to be limited to the cost of a pair of plough buffaloes and to be made on the security of the applicant's headman or Chief. The advance should be repayable in three years at a rate of interest not exceeding five per cent. per annum.

3. *Forest Revenue.*—This is derived by taxing the removal of the forest produce from the Government reserves, and also from the open forest, if removed from the district for the purpose of trade.

Toll-stations are placed on the rivers at the entry into the Hill Tracts, and as the produce is floated down the rivers it is taxed before being allowed to pass the toll-station. These stations are officered by the Forest Department, and are situated on the Collectorate side of the boundary. The revenue obtained from this source amounted in 1902-03 to Rs. 79,281. In addition, there is doubtless a great amount of forest produce that is removed by the shoulder, but this is very difficult of detection owing to the extreme length of border that requires to be patrolled. I have little doubt that the revenue derived from the forests would be doubled were it possible to realise the proper tax on all forest produce that leaves the Hill Tracts.

4. *Grass Khola Revenue.*—The sale of a variety of grass that is in general use for thatching houses and is known as *ekana* grass.

In the district are found hill sides and valleys which are covered with *ekana* grass. This is a coarse species of grass that grows to five and six feet in height.



These grass-fields or *kholas* situated in the neighbourhood of rivers are reserved by Government and auctioned yearly. The Bengalis come up from the regulation district of Chittagong, and the bidding at the sales for the right to cut and remove the grass each year is very keen. The revenue from this source amounted in 1902-03 to Rs. 9,642, but this will decline in future years. The grass lands situated in the valleys are being leased out for plough cultivation, which will ensure a regular source of revenue and supply additional food-stuff for the community. In addition corrugated iron and tin-sheets are coming into general use in the Chittagong district for the purposes of roofing, thereby ensuring comparative immunity from the risk of the destruction of the homestead by fire. Arson is a very favourite method amongst Chittagonians of settling their little differences of opinion. Any advantage that may be secured in the Civil Courts is often equalised by the destruction, in this way, of the homestead of one party by some emissary of the other.

Minor sources of revenue are—

5. *Excise*.—The sum of Rs. 2,000 is received for licenses to sell ganja and opium at Rangamati and Bandarban.

6. *Fisheries*.—Formerly the fisheries of this district were disposed of by auction, and realised a very insignificant amount, but the introduction of a system of issuing passes to each professional fisherman has very materially increased the revenue. The Domes, a very low caste of the plains, are the professional fishermen of the district, and each man is required to take out a pass to fish for sale. The cost of this pass for the year is 2½ rupees, but hillmen and others catching fish for home consumption are not required to take out any pass.

7. *Pounds*.—These are places where cattle that trespass on cultivated or private lands can be confined. The owner of the cattle has to pay a small fine for each animal impounded before he effects its release. The right to farm the various pounds is sold annually by auction.

8. *Process fees*.—These are fees levied by the Government for serving summons, &c., in civil cases.

9. *Criminal fines*.—These fines are imposed as a punishment in criminal cases or in addition to imprisonment.

10. *Cattle-grazing fees*.

11. *Ferries*.

12. *Gun licenses*.

The total revenue realised during 1903-04 from all sources was Rs. 1,34,028, or an equivalent at the present fixed rate of exchange to £8,935.

The machinery for the protection of persons and property in the district was formerly, although called by the name of Police, an essentially military force, trained and expensively armed, particularly as a protection against the raids from the tribes further east. The total strength of the force in 1872 was 656 of all ranks, and the cost of maintenance payable wholly from Imperial revenue was £14,804.

With the subjugation of the wild tribes in the east and the annexation of their country, and also the formation of the same into a separate district in 1891-92, the need of maintaining so large a force in the district ceased. The present police force of all ranks having a strength of 138 is armed with the Martini-Henri rifle, and the annual cost of maintenance, wholly borne by the Bengal Government, is Rs. 23,076, or £1,625.

There are eight police thanas or stations in the district—

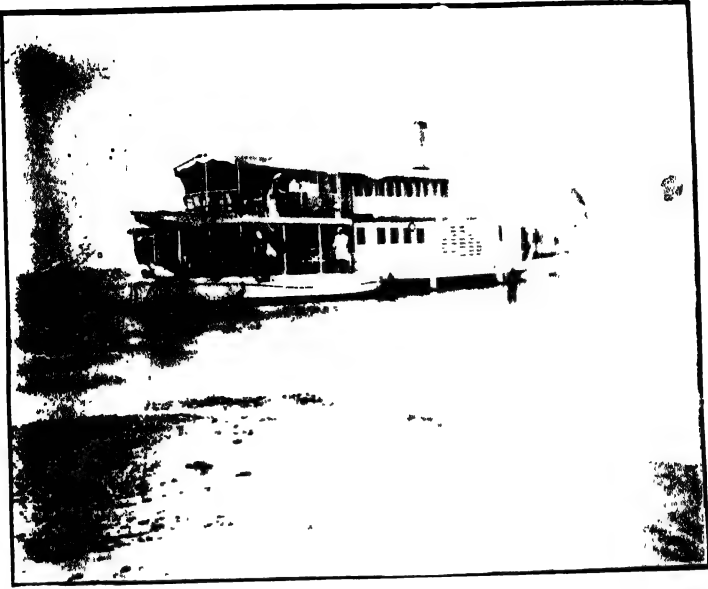
- (1) Chandraghona—on the river Karnaphuli, on the boundary between the Hill Tracts and the district of Chittagong.
- (2) Rangamati—the head-quarters police-station.
- (3) Kasalong—on the Karnaphuli river, 14 miles above Rangamati and opposite the mouth of the Kasalong river, one of the most important tributaries of the Karnaphuli river.
- (4) Mahalcherri—50 miles up the Chengri river, another important tributary of the Karnaphuli.
- (5) Ramgar—on the Pheni river; to the north of the district.
- (6) Bandarban—on the Sangu river; the head-quarters of the Bohmong Circle.
- (7) Ruma—also on the Sangu river, 30 miles above Bandarban.
- (8) Lama—on the Matamuri river; in the south of the district.

All cognisable cases are reported to the police-station within the jurisdiction of which the offence is committed. All heinous cases and cases between hillmen and plainmen are enquired into by the district police and are triable by the Civil authorities of the district; all other cases are referred by the Superintendent to the Circle Chief, who enquires into and deals with each according to tribal custom. This system is an eminently satisfactory one, and the Circle Chiefs exercise their power, on the whole, with fairness and equity. Serious crime is rare, and no organised crime exists. Murders and grievous hurt are usually the result of jealousy or drink. The culprit seldom seeks to hide his guilt or evade

justice, and it is well that they are so law-abiding; for there is only one policeman to every 900 of the inhabitants or to each 37 square miles of country. I have only known of one serious case, and that occurred on the night of February 13, 1890. A Dewan, by name Janmajoy Chakma, was deprived of his headmanship for neglect of duty; this offended the man, and, collecting some seventy of his raiyats, he emigrated to Hill Tipára. Unfortunately on the way the party passed the forest station of Tintilla in the Kasalong Reserve, and the Dewan incited his followers to attack and *loot* the station. The forest guards were brutally murdered, and two thousand rupees of Government money taken. Thirty-eight of the dacoits were arrested, three were accepted as King's evidence, and the rest received sentences of from 2 to 10 years' transportation. Janmajoy, the leader, escaped arrest till May 1900, when he was secured and sentenced to transportation for life. There is a fair amount of civil litigation. usually the outcome of monetary transactions, between the plainsmen and the hillmen. The authorities do all in their power to protect the hillmen from the rapacity of the money-lenders, but it is a very difficult task to deal with these blood-suckers, and the general improvidence of the hillman renders him an easy prey to these astute rogues. A very wholesome regulation in the Hill Tracts is the one forbidding the appearance of a pleader or mukhtar (lawyer) in any Court within the jurisdiction of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. This regulation has a very satisfactory deterrent effect on unnecessary litigation.

Rangamati, the head-quarters of the district, is a flourishing settlement situated on a peninsula formed by the river Karnaphuli.

The station is extremely picturesque, and well worth a visit from Chittagong, from which it is distant



THE GOVERNMENT LAUNCH "SWALLOW"



CAMP AT POMONA



65 miles by river and 46 miles by road. There is communication by a Government steamer which leaves Chittagong every Thursday and reaches Rangamati after a run of nine hours, returning on the Saturday. The boat is provided with cabins, crockery, cutlery and cooking utensils, but the passenger has to make his own commissariat arrangements. The first class return fare is nine rupees and two rupees for a servant.

Rangamati is also the head-quarters of the London Baptist Mission, having two missionaries and their families quartered there.

The station possesses a High English school with accommodation for fifty free boarders, who must be hill boys. There is an excellently equipped hospital and charitable dispensary, District Police Reserve lines, police-station, treasury, post and telegraph office, circuit-house, and a big bazar or market. The market days are Monday and Thursday, when large crowds flock in from the surrounding villages to dispose of their country produce and purchase household necessaries. All ordinary provisions are procurable in the bazar, which is steadily expanding and is a model of neatness, comparing very favourably with the bazars of Bengal.

Bandarban, the head-quarters of the Bohmong Circle, is on the Sangu river, and the journey thither has to be performed by country boat and is extremely tedious, taking under favourable circumstances two whole days from Chittagong. The village itself is very quaint, and there are two fine Khyongs, or Buddhist temples, which are well worth seeing. The inhabitants are entirely Maghs, and the Bohmong or head of the circle resides here. Bandarban possesses a furnished rest-house, police-station, post-office, hospital and bazar, but supplies are scarce in the locality, and it is as well to be provided with all necessaries.

**Manikcherri**, situated on a small stream of the same name, is the principal village of the Mong Circle, and the Mong Raja resides there. The place is of no interest and not worth visiting, but the shooting is good, as there are some fine bison grounds within reach. The easiest route is to go by road from Chittagong to Fatikcherri; the distance from there is about 12 miles, which are rideable, except in the rainy season.

The trade of the Hill Tracts is principally in the hands of Chittagonian Bengalis, who convey their goods from place to place by means of boats and rafts.

The principal exports consist of forest produce, cotton, rice, oil-seeds (mustard and rape) and rough "dug-outs," which are subsequently converted into boats of all sorts—the sea going "balam" boat, the "saranga" or the boat in ordinary use for river trade, the "koonda," a boat peculiar to the districts of Noakhali and Tipāra, and the ordinary "dug-out" or canoe, which is in universal use on all the rivers of the district and provides the principal means of transport.

There is also a certain amount of tobacco leaf exported from the southern portion of the district. A very excellent tobacco is procured from the leaf grown on the banks of the Matamufi river during the winter months. This excellence is due to the heavy deposits of ash from the burnt *jams* which mixes with the sandy soils, and makes an ideal bed for the growth of the tobacco plant. I can personally vouch for the excellence of the Burma-shaped cheroots rolled from this leaf. The supply is, however, practically monopolised by the Maghs themselves, who are competent judges of a good tobacco.

In old days there was a considerable export of India-rubber, which is indigenous to the country, but alas! the greed of gain drove the hillmen to bleeding the trees to death, and the tree is now extinct.



The Kukis were guilty of similar folly with regard to the indigenous tea tree, for discovering that the seed had a considerable market value, they cut the trees down in order to collect the seed more easily.

Ivory used also to figure amongst the exports of the district, but with the complete subjugation and settlement of the hill tribes, the slaying of elephants was prohibited, and at the present time only an occasional tusk is smuggled through. The principal imports from Chittagong are salt, piece-goods, bar-iron for the manufacture of *daos*, axes and agricultural implements, and dry fish. The last named is the one great delicacy enjoyed by all the hillmen, who eat it as a relish with their meal of rice. It is exceedingly evil-smelling stuff, and would be certain to give leprosy, if there is any truth in the assertion of a specialist that this dire disease is due to eating badly cured fish. As a matter of fact, the disease is extremely rare. Kerosine oil from Burma is beginning to find its way into the bazars, and is used by the wealthier class of hillmen, but the peasant is content with the fire-light, or a little *chirag* or earthenware lamp in which vegetable oil or animal fat is used.

The principal trade centres of the district are Chandraghona, Rainkhyong Rangamati, Shubalong, Kasalong, Bandarban, and Ajodhiya.

These centres are very busy places during the winter months, and their respective river-ghats (landing-places) are crowded with varieties of boats and bamboo and timber rafts, while on the banks are stacks of grass, piles of baskets full of cotton, and heaps of paddy or rice. These have all been brought in by the hillmen to be taken away by the Bengali trader in return for the cash advances he has made earlier during the cultivating season or in exchange for goods brought from Chittagong for the purpose of barter.

Chandraghona is the most important bazaar of the district, and two or three thousand people will collect there on a busy market day. The market day is Thursday, and is convenient, as the Chittagong steamer comes up on that day. It is the principal mart for bamboo, cane, *sun* grass, cotton and sesamum.

Till recent years the rivers provided the sole means of communication between the different parts of the district, but at the present time four first-class bridle-paths exist, while others are under course of construction, and every endeavour is being made to open out the interior of the district by means of roads.

Wheel traffic is impossible in the Hill Tracts, as the expense of preparing and maintaining the roads would be prohibitive, and pack animals, together with shoulder-borne traffic, in addition to the water ways, are sufficient to meet the present transport requirements of the district.



100 J. OSW. HAVEN IN



## CHAPTER IV.

Crops grown in District—System of juming—Census returns of jumeahs—Varieties of rice grown—Sesamum—Cotton—Harvesting methods—Jum returns—Annual cost of living of young married couple—Arguments for continuance of Juming—Plough cultivation and progress—Edible forest produce, utility of plantain and bamboo growth.

RICE is the staple crop of the district. It is sown in April and reaped in August, September or October, according to the variety.

The system of cultivation in vogue amongst the tribes is, as I have said, that known as *jūming* (pronounced "jooming").

In the months of January and February a convenient piece of forest land is fixed upon, preference being given to a hillside covered with bamboo. This is cleared by cutting down the jungle over-growth. The smaller trees are also felled, but the large ones are merely denuded of their lower branches. The cut-jungle is then allowed to dry in the sun, and in the first fortnight of April it is fired. If it is thoroughly dry and no rain has fallen since the *jūm* was cut, this firing reduces all but the large trees to ashes, and incinerates the soil to the depth of an inch or two. To cut a *jūm* properly requires very great skill. It is commenced at the bottom of the hill; the bamboos and jungle, being only three parts cut through, remain standing; as the top is reached, the growth is wholly severed, and one sees the entire growth on the hillside slowly collapse. The firing of the *jūm* is attended with

great risk, and never a season passes without some one being devoured by the flames. The whole hillside is like tinder, and, once the torch is applied, burns with astounding rapidity. The *jūm* is lighted in several places simultaneously; thus it happens that an unfortunate is occasionally cut off by the rapidity of the flames. The country side is a marvellous sight during the firing of the *jūms*. The flames shoot up to great heights, the heated air within the burning bamboos explodes with a noise resembling the sharp rattle of musketry fire, dense columns of smoke rise to the skies, and spreading out enshroud everything in a murky darkness, while particles of burnt leaves fall thickly like a black snow. The heat is also intense and the smoke-laden atmosphere is particularly trying. The Hill Tracts are to be avoided during the time that the *jūm* firing is in progress. The oppressive conditions remain till a good storm scatters the smoke clouds. After the firing the *jūm* is cleared of logs, &c., and nothing remains but to await the approach of rain. As soon as this falls and thoroughly saturates the ground, sowing commences, and the *jūm* is planted with seeds of rice, cotton, sesamum, maize, melons, cucumbers, pumpkins and yams. The seeds are all mixed in a basket, and the sower with his *dao* (hill knife) makes a small hole in the ground and drops in some of the seed, continuing in this way till the whole *jūm* is sown. The seeds grow up in due course, and are reaped in their respective seasons. Maize ripens about the middle of July, then come the vegetables, followed by rice in September and October, and the cotton in November brings the harvest to a close.

This method of cultivation is extremely precarious, and is solely dependant on climatic influences. It

### Chittagong Hill Tracts.

entails the maximum amount of labour; for, apart from the severe task of cutting the *jāms*, the young plants have to be kept constantly weeded to save them from being choked by the vigorous up-growth of jungle, and, as they come to maturity, have to be incessantly guarded from the serious ravages of elephants, deer, wild pig, monkeys, rats and parrots. The two latter are particularly destructive, so much so that there have been occasions on which the whole of the crop has been devastated by a plague of field rats.

A first class *jām* will give as much as 80 maunds of paddy in return for one maund sown, but the average is between 25 and 35 maunds. The men only, working together, cut the *jāms* for the whole village. The women and children are responsible for the weeding, tending and harvesting.

The natural features of the Hill Tracts are such that *jāming* must always be the principal method of cultivation. There seems in past years to have been almost an unaccountable aversion on the part of the authorities to *jāming*, and with all due deference to such an accepted authority as Captain Lewin, I assert that the aversion has been a great deal due to misconception of the actual facts at issue. Captain Lewin in a letter to the Bengal Government, dated 1st July 1872 (page 17, Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal), writes as follows with reference to the *Jām* tax:—

“ We are undoubtedly entitled either to revise or to annul the present capitation tax (*jām* tax) settlements. This has been the conclusion to which all officers have arrived who have reported on this subject; but I strongly dissuade Government from any such proceeding. The *jām* tax should not be regarded as a possible source of revenue to us, but, on the contrary, should be regarded as an illegitimate and injurious source of revenue which by every means in our power we should endeavour to eliminate from our revenue-roll. Our object should be to

put a stop to *jām* culture and induce the people to settle and cultivate by the plough, making land revenue the basis of our district settlement."

I am at a complete loss to understand how Captain Lewin could have formed the above opinion, and can only conjecture that little was known at the time of the interior of the vast area that forms the Chittagong Hill Tracts district, or of the actual number of its inhabitants, and that the census figures of the year 1871, namely 63,054, were the basis of his calculation.

The census of 1901 returns the population at 124,762; of this total 35,907 males and 30,332 females with 43,121 dependants, that is children under the age of 12 years, or a grand total of 109,360 are returned as existing entirely by *jūming*. The present figures of plough cultivators with their dependants approximate 11,000, but a very considerable number of these are Chittagonians or foreigners.

The above figures show the progress of the 25 years since Captain Lewin wrote and emphasize the permanent nature of the *jām* cultivation. Apart from the fact that a large proportion of the population of the district will always *jām*, there is the fact that it is extremely doubtful if lands suitable for the cultivation of rice are available on which to settle the population as desired by Captain Lewin. There is certainly a very great amount of land that can be reclaimed, but this need not necessarily be suitable for rice cultivation. Of the acreage reclaimed at present, only 60 per cent. at the most grows rice, the rest various cold weather crops of which mustard and pulses are the principal.

The principal objections to *jāming* are—

- (1) The waste of forest produce.
- (2) The tendency to encourage the nomadic habits of the Hill Tracts.



I propose to deal with each in detail.

The value of forest produce depends entirely on the facilities available for removing the same from site and placing it on the market. In the Chittagong Hill Tracts this can only be done by means of the existing water ways. The extreme hilliness of the district and its intersection by numberless small streams, as also the sandy nature of the soil, render the construction of cart roads extremely difficult and prohibitive in cost. Wheeled traffic is therefore an impossibility and shoulder-borne traffic from within the interior would be unremunerative. Government has reserved over one fourth of the area of the district as closed forest in which no cultivation is allowed; these are situated on the principal water ways of the district and are in themselves more than sufficient to meet the requirements of trade. As a matter of fact, it is a question whether the area might not with advantage be considerably reduced, as the present great area renders the task of administration by the Forest Department an impossibility.

If the system of *jūming* was abandoned the ranges of hills would be entirely useless. The absence of stone, the light nature of the soil and the steepness of the hillsides make cultivation by terraces an impossibility, and the hills of the interior would lie idle instead of as at present supplying food and valuable produce for barter to the inhabitants of the district, as well as being a source of considerable revenue to Government.

The hills are covered for the most part with bamboo forest and this is always selected by preference for *jūming*. The bamboo has a wonderful recuperative power and in five to seven years the land *jūmed* is quite ready for *re-jūming*. Where tree forest is *jūmed*, the damage done is considerable and recovery as tree forest

is practically impossible but it will develop into bamboo forest and thus again meet the requirements of *jāming* though the period to elapse will extend between seven and ten years. And what are the advantages gained by this method of cultivation to the hillman? In an ordinary season he will secure his supply of rice for the year, and a surplus to barter in addition to yams, pumpkins, chillies and Indian corn to vary his diet. He will secure sufficient cotton to supply all the requirements for the manufacture of yarn with which to weave cloth, and replenish his wife's wardrobe, as also to make cloths for the purpose of covering at night and during the cold months, and he will yet have plenty over to sell, the price of which, added to the sale-proceeds of his sesamum crop and other *jām* grains, will give him the wherewithal to lay in a supply of luxuries or purchase ornaments for his better half. To secure these benefits he need not pay more than four rupees per annum rent, that is, two rupees an acre, for the average young married couple *jāms* two acres. Apart from the value of the food-supply obtained from the *jāms*, we must consider what a valuable asset the cotton crop is to the country, and in Bengal it represents the most important cotton crop of the province; and for this reason alone it would be very unwise to attempt to stop *jāming*. Now, as regards the supposed tendency of *jāming* to encourage the nomadic habits of the hill tribes, this is quite a mistaken idea. The very great majority of villages are permanent and have occupied their present site for a very large number of years. Take Bandarban for instance; this is the largest of the hill villages and its population is entirely *jameah*, but it has occupied its present site for more than 80 years and will continue to do so. The same may be said of all the principal villages. The *jameah* will invariably return to his

village immediately after the *jāming* season is over, even though he may have to go a considerable distance involving a journey of two or three days to reach his *jāming* lands. I am no opponent to the spread of plough cultivation and consider that every effort should be made to encourage the people to reclaim all lands that are suitable for rice cultivation. It must be admitted that the success of *jāming* is precarious and therefore every endeavour is necessary to secure an alternative food-supply. I cannot help quoting Captain Lewin's "Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the Dwellers therein" where on page 11 he draws a highly picturesque comparison between the two methods of cultivation summing up wholly in favour of the hill man and his *jām*: "Although the clearing of a patch of dense jungle is no doubt very severe labour, yet the surroundings of the labourer render his work pleasurable in comparison with the toilsome and dirty task of the cultivation of the plains. On the one hand, the hill man works in the shade of the jungle that he is cutting; he is on a lofty eminence, where every breeze reaches him and refreshes him; his spirits are enlivened and his labour is lightened by the beautiful prospect stretching out before him: while the rich and varied scenery of the forest stirs his mind above a monotone. He is surrounded by his comrades; the scent of the wild thyme and the buzzing of the forest bee are about him; the young men and maidens sing to their work and the laugh and joke go round as they sit down to share their mid-day meal under the shade of some great mossy forest tree."

On the other hand, consider the moiling toiler of the plains. He maulders along with pokes and antelopes at the tail of a pair of buffaloes; working mid-day in mud; around him stretches an uninterrupted view of

muddy rice land ; there is not a bough or a leaf to give him shelter from the blazing noonday sun. His women are shut up in some cabin, jealously surrounded by jungle ; and if he is able to afford a meagre meal during the day, he will munch it "solus" sitting beside his muddy plough ; add to this, that by his comparatively pleasurable toil, the hillman can gain two rupees for one which the wretched raiyat of the plains can painfully earn, and it is not to be wondered at that the hillpeople have a passion for their mode of life, and regard with absolute contempt any proposal to settle down to the tame and monotonous cultivation of the dwellers in the low land." Surely Captain Lewin never really intended to thus ruthlessly destroy the picture and compel the hill man to adopt a system on which he looks with scorn. In reality, I fear accuracy has been sacrificed for the picturesque ; given the means and opportunity the hill man would readily adopt the most profitable system, and I can safely say that no question of sentiment enters into his calculation, and it is solely a question of personal convenience and advantage.

The percentage of cultivation in a *jām* is 75 per cent. rice, 20 per cent. oilseeds, and 5 per cent. other crops. The price of rice varies between 8 and 15 seers per rupee according to the season.

Foreigners as a rule do not eat the hill rice, as it is hard to digest, and rice is imported for their use. Local scarcities occur, but a general famine is unknown.

The following are the principal varieties of grains and vegetables that the hillman cultivates in his *jāms*: as they are all sown practically together, the harvest field presents a variegated scene:—

*Jum paddy or Rice*.—There is quite a variety of rice. I only mention a few of the best known and most generally used :—

- (1) Gelong—a red rice with ordinary coloured husk.
  - (2) Rangî—a red husk with white rice.
  - (3) Koborak, of three varieties—a white rice of medium flavour.
- These three varieties are the first to be harvested early in September.
- (4) Bora Badoia—early rice with a big white grain, but coarse in flavour, harvested late in September.
  - (5) Gelangdo— ditto ditto.
  - (6) Toorki—a late rice with a large white grain, of excellent flavour, harvested in October.
  - (7) Kamrang of four varieties—the best rice grown; white with very fine and clear grain; harvested in October.
  - (8) Binnie rice: there are several varieties, but the best of all is—
  - (9) Singer Binnie—a fine white rice with a sweet flavour. This rice when cooked is extremely glutinous and quite sweet to the taste. It is cooked entirely by steaming, and is eaten with milk or sugar, or made into cakes and sweetmeats.
  - (10) Kangain, though so-called, is not a rice; the seed is smaller than sago. It is used as an occasional delicacy and is prepared with milk. This grain is sold in quantities to the Bengalis, who use it in the place of sago as a light diet for invalids. It makes an excellent substitute at the breakfast table for porridge.

- (11) Maize, makya or Indian corn. Of these there are several varieties, but the best are Bhoja Makya, with white grain. Each plant produces three and sometimes four heads, and is reaped in August.
- (12) Binnie Makya—a very succulent variety with dark purple grain, having four or five heads to each plant; this is gathered in September.

*Til, Sesamum.*—The white variety, called *dhob-gossia*, is most generally sown. This crop is grown entirely for trade purposes, and is bought largely by Bengalis. An oil is extracted from the seed, and this is largely used in the adulteration of mustard oil. The average price paid is one rupee for twenty-four pounds. The European firms are beginning to make enquiries about this crop; but it is the black variety that is the best for trade, and I am told that this will not grow satisfactorily on hillsides, but requires to be planted on the flat.

*Cotton.*—There is only one variety in general use, which is called *shuta*. The cotton is pure white, with a short staple. It commands between four and five rupees a maund (82 lbs.), but this season has touched eight. The cotton seed has a market value of one rupee a maund, and is used to feed cattle. My attempt to improve the staple by introducing cotton from the Garo Hills in Assam was not a success; as the cotton crop failed generally throughout the district, every endeavour should be made to introduce a better staple, and I am convinced that only perseverance is required to place the cotton of the Hill Tracts on a very high footing.

Varieties of pumpkins, melons, cucumbers, and yams all find a place in the *jām*, and are sold in the local

bazars or to floating traders. There is an enormous variety of yams of circular shape called *olkoocho*. I have seen several over a maund each in weight; these are sold to traders, but the hillmen keep the smaller varieties for their own use.

Chillies, brinjals (egg-plant), *bindi* or ladies' fingers, and many varieties of spinach are grown for home consumption only.

Rice is harvested with a small sickle. The heads only are cut off and thrown into a basket slung over the left shoulder of the reaper. It is then taken to the *jūm*-house, where the grain is taken out of the ear. The straw is left standing in the *jūm* and is abandoned. The paddy is carried to the village and stored away in granaries.

A young married couple will *jūm* on an average five kanis or two acres of land. In this they will sow five aries (150 lbs.) of paddy seed, a similar quantity of cotton seed, a seer or two of til and other vegetable seeds all mixed together, and a head or two of Indian corn.

A favourable harvest would be represented by a return of—

			Value in Rs.
100 aries* of paddy	...	...	25
10 maunds of cotton	...	...	40
30 acres of til	...	...	30
A good crop of maize and vegetables	...	...	10
			<hr/>
Value of the <i>jūm</i> crop	...	...	105
			<hr/>

The outlay represented would be—

	Rs.	A.
Man's labour for 30 days in cutting <i>jūm</i>	10	0
Man and wife's labour between 15th April and 15th November ...	125	0
Paddy seed Rs. 2, cotton Rs. 2, other seeds As. 8 ... ..	4	8
Price of <i>daos</i> and sickles ... ..	1	8
Baskets, &c. ... ..	2	0
	<hr/>	
Total ...	143	0
	<hr/>	

The amount of the labour has been calculated at the current rate of wage, and is merely included to enable a comparison to be formed between income and expenditure. The amount assigned to labour is very high; for in the majority of cases a man will absent himself from the *jūm* for a period of two months once the grain has fairly established itself and there is no chance of its being choked with weed growth. During this time he will go and cut bamboos and canes, and his earning will average—

	Rs.
2,000 bamboos valued at ... ..	30
1,000 canes ... ..	5
	<hr/>
Value of jungle produce ...	35
	<hr/>

After the harvesting is over he will again go to the jungles for a couple of months and earn a similar amount, so his additional earnings may be placed at seventy rupees.

The wife weaves all her own clothes, so there is no dress-maker's little account to meet, and the couple in a fair year will earn between them Rs. 140, or say a round sum of Rs. 150, the equivalent of ten pounds sterling.



The annual expenditure of the family would be as follows:—

	Rs.	A.
Food consumption—		
100 aries of paddy ... ..	25	0
One maund of salt ... ..	5	0
Dried-fish, oil, tobacco, betel-nut, &c.	10	0
Clothes for the man—4 <i>dhotis</i> and 2 coats	5	0
Expenditure on <i>pujas</i> ... ..	8	0
Sickness ... ..	3	0
Silver ornaments and repairs to same ..	10	0
Implements for agriculture ... ..	2	8
Seeds ... ..	4	8
Rent and other calls ... ..	10	0
 Total annual expenditure of family of two	 83	 0

It will thus be seen that a strong and healthy young married couple can have a very fair margin in a good year to put by or invest in live-stock or jewellery. Alas, their nature is improvident, and the surplus will generally be wasted in feasts or frivolities, and no provision will be made for adverse times. A striking instance of their improvidence is that they will not even set aside a portion of their harvest for seed for the coming year, but will sell their produce in a cheap market and buy seed in an expensive one.

A hillman must perform at least four *pujas* in the year, but they are all of a very simple nature, and the expenditure involved on each occasion need not exceed two rupees.

My estimates throughout are purposely kept low, and are based on the results and working of the average. Taken as a whole the hill people are exceedingly well off. They get three rice meals a day, and very seldom have a meal without some sort of relish; while fish, flesh

of goats, pig and fowl, and also game are frequent additions to the daily meal. There are occasions of scarcity, when the rice supply is not sufficient to carry them through the year. Doubtless a considerable amount of inconvenience is felt at such times, and it may result in shortening the lives of the aged and very young, but such a thing as actual starvation is exceedingly rare, and a hillman could at a pinch support himself for several days without rice. This, however, must tell on the constitution and certainly lessen his fitness for the arduous duties of the following season's cultivation. It is therefore very essential that Government assistance should be readily given in times of stress. This assistance should only take the form of advances in rice, to be subsequently repaid in cash. It is very inadvisable to make cash advances, as the hillman is so improvident that he would in all probability neglect to apply the money for the purchase of food.

It is satisfactory to note that plough cultivation shows a slow but steady progress. On plough lands suitable for rice cultivation two crops are grown in the year, while on the higher lands excellent results are obtained from the cultivation of mustard, chillies, sugarcane and *araha dal*. The banks of the rivers and *chars* are cultivated during the winter months, and yield excellent crops of melons, cucumbers, vegetables, tobacco and chillies.

The jungles or forests of the Hill Tracts are full of edible plants and fruits; to those acquainted with them it would always be an easy matter to procure the necessaries for a meal. It may interest the reader to learn something about this source of food-supply, so I deal with the subject at length.

There are fifty or more varieties of trees in the forests, the fruits of which are edible and in many cases

exceedingly pleasant to the taste. Among the best are—

Bash am, or the wild mango, a miniature fruit of sweet taste.

Dhol ko, and Raj ko, the fruit of trees of some size, and very sweet.

Bharotta gula, the indigenous lichee, of excellent flavour.

Regas ko, a creeper with a blood-red fruit, very sweet, and about the size of a small lime.

Several varieties of wild plantain, the fruit of which is very sweet when ripe, but full of seeds. The plantain tree, next to the bamboo, is the most useful growth found in the district. By cutting the stem and squeezing it a certain amount of water can be procured. This has an acrid taste, but serves to assuage the bitterness of thirst should no other water be procurable. The inside of the plantain flower makes a very excellent vegetable. One has but to remove the purple coverings, and small immature plantains are found. These are fried in butter or oil, or made into a vegetable curry. The white core of the plantain stem, cooked with rice, is used to eke out a scanty supply of rice in days of scarcity. It is satisfying and by no means unpalatable. The broad leaves spread over a light frame-work of bamboo will keep off rain or dew and make an excellent cover for a temporary shelter. The seeds of the *goda kola*, one of the varieties of wild plantain, are in great demand as beads. They are dried, polished and threaded, and are worn as armlets by hillmen. The stems of the plantain, cut in lengths of six or eight feet and joined together with slips of bamboo run through them at top and bottom, will make a very serviceable and speedily constructed raft. The fibre extracted from the stem is also fairly strong and good for rope-making.

As vegetables, there are a dozen varieties of yams procurable all the year round, and styled *aloo* and *kachoo*, with special names attached. Numerous sorts of spinach are found and are termed *shág*. The young fronds of a species of big fern that grows everywhere, and is known as *dhekhi shág* are delicious, as are also the stalks and tendrils of a creeper that grows in moist places and is called *kormu shág*. The young shoots of the bamboo (*bashkorol*) and of the cane (*golák agá*) make a first class vegetable curry. They are gathered when the young shoots have forced their way through the ground and appear in cone shape about a foot in height. They should be cut in slices and boiled and served with white sauce, or else mixed in a vegetable curry. There are several species of edible fungi, the best being a white variety which comes up in numbers after the early rains in the proximity of decayed timber. The flesh resembles that of the mushroom in flavour, but is somewhat tough and leathery. It is as well though to have an experienced hillman as a companion before trying culinary experiments with fungi. An apparently innocent variety that I once tried my apprentice hand on acted as a powerful emetic for a considerable period, much to my discomfort. After the early rain in April large quantities of mushrooms are to be gathered round about Rangamati, but the season only lasts three or four days.

The bamboo, of which there are some ten varieties in the Hill Tracts, is the most important of the forest produce of the district, and is invaluable to the hillman. It is no exaggeration to say his very existence is dependent on it. We have already discussed its edible properties, and will now take those of general utility. Commencing with the hillman's home. The house is made entirely of bamboo—whole bamboos for supports split bamboos for walls, floor and roof frame. The big

binns and baskets in use for storing grain are all manufactured from bamboo, while a big variety of bamboo cut in lengths of three feet is used for the purposes of fetching and storing water amongst the tribes which build their villages on the hill-tops. They take the place of the earthen water-pots used by the dwellers in the plains. From the bamboo are also made drinking cups, receptacles for holding oil, musical instruments, spears, bows, arrows, and fencing to protect their cultivation. A hillside covered with bamboo forest will be selected as the best site to *jūm*. Water can be boiled and rice cooked in lengths of green bamboo, and it provides a mortar in which to crush up condiments. A certain amount of excellent drinking water is obtainable by cutting down the young bamboos; the water is found near the root between the knots that divide the stem.

Bamboo leaves make a very fair fodder for horses and cattle; in fact one is dependent on this supply to feed a horse in the hills, where grass is very scarce indeed during the dry months. Finally the bamboo is a source of considerable revenue to the Government, as a tax is levied on its removal from the Hill Tracts, and hundreds of thousands are floated down the rivers every year, bound together in rafts frequently five-hundred feet in length. It is a very wonderful sight in the cold weather seeing these long rafts slowly floating down the river, like huge yellow snakes. The rafts are also used as a means of transporting big stacks of thatching grass, baskets of cotton, grain, canes, and other varieties of hill produce. The custodians live on the rafts, which take a week or ten days to float down to Chittagong, where they are broken up and sold.

## CHAPTER V.

**Backwardness in manufacture—Weaving—Preparing cotton for same—Drink—Manufacture of Beer and Spirit—Hill-knife or dao—Its uses—Manufacture of boats—Gunpowder how manufactured—Ammunition how procurable—Musical instruments.**

THE hill tribes are very backward in the art of manufacture, and all their household utensils and agricultural implements are imported or manufactured locally by foreigners. There is not a single potter or blacksmith amongst them. The Lushais, on the other hand, have both. The potter's art is, however, of a very crude nature, and the attention of the village blacksmith is principally devoted to the repair of weapons, *daos* (or hill-knife and axes.

*Weaving.*—Throughout the Hill Tracts the women spin their own cotton thread and weave it into cloth, of which are made their own wearing apparel, satchels, bed-sheets and covering cloths. The various tribes introduce different colours and patterns into their cloth, very little of which is plain. Weaving once formed an essential part of a girl's education, and was quite as necessary as acquiring the art of cooking, but alas! the shoddy importations from the west are taking a hold in the country and home weaving is doomed.

*Preparing the cotton.*—The cotton is removed from the pod in the *jám* and brought to the house and thoroughly cleaned. It is then spread out on mats and exposed for two or three days to the sun till it is perfectly dried. The cotton is then ginned

to remove the seed from the fibre. The gin is similar to those used in the plains and is of the same pattern throughout the hills. It consists of two wooden rollers fixed horizontally, one slightly above the other, and mounted on an upright stand. The ginned cotton is then bowed. The bow is made from a piece of bamboo three feet long, to which is attached a fine string made from the fibre of a creeper called "dholoo goos." The cotton is placed on a mat, generally inside the house where the rice is cleaned; the bow-string is repeatedly pulled and let go with a resonant twang amongst the cotton, thus loosening the fibre. When the cotton has been sufficiently bowed it is placed on flat boards, and portions are rolled by the hand on to little slips of bamboo, to be converted into thread by the spinning wheel. The end of one of these rolls of cotton is applied to the point of the spindle and the thread is removed from the cotton roll which is held in the left hand, the right being employed to turn the wheel. By a slight motion of the hand the thread is wound quite evenly round the spindle. This process is repeated until the spindle is full, when the ball of thread is slipped off.

For the process of weaving, five pieces of bamboo are prepared and stuck in the ground, and the thread is then wound around them, two threads at a time. These are alternately twisted round the end pieces. The amount of thread required for the cloth to be woven is calculated by the hundred pairs of threads, and on an average it will take four and-a-half pounds of thread to weave the piece of cloth a yard and a quarter wide and four and-a-half yards long which is worn as a petticoat. When a sufficient quantity of thread has been thus treated, the whole is taken up and fastened to a beam or post in the verandah, and weaving commences. The

woman seats herself before the cloth beam, pressing one treadle with the foot. She raises one shaft of healds and lowers the other, making a space between the upper and lower threads of the warp and throwing the intersection on the cloth beam. The shuttle is passed through the gap from left to right, the loose end of the thread being held on the left of the warp. The thread is now between the upper and lower threads of the warp and in front of the intersection the reed being pulled towards the weaver the thread is pushed home. The other treadle is now pressed and a fresh gap made between the threads which have become reversed, and two fresh intersections have been formed, with the threads kept at tension by the healds. That thread is passed through and driven home with the reed, the shuttle this time passing from right to left. The intersection at the end where the weaver sits is thus woven in. Another pressure of the first treadle reverses the threads and brings the remaining intersection from the far end and throws it against the weft thread just shot which brings the threads to the same position as they were at the commencement. This operation is repeated over and over again till the required length is obtained.

The tribes dye their own yarn mostly with indigenous mixtures. For the manufacture of blue or black dye *kalma* or indigo leaves are placed in an earthen vessel; this is filled with water and left to soak for two days, when the leaves are removed and the water is squeezed out. This water is strained and mixed with lime and kept till it settles. The water is then drained off and put into a separate vessel, and stirred with a stick until it becomes frothy; when the froth does not stick to any more dropped in, the process is complete. It is now allowed to settle down for an hour or so, the water is very carefully decanted off and the colour sediment





KIKI WOMAN WEAVING.



remains at the bottom of the pot. This sediment is strained through a fine cloth and then dried in the sun in the shape of small cakes. The ash of burnt bamboo or fig tree is mixed with the water and strained, this again is mixed with the colour cake and exposed for ten or fifteen days to the sun. The cotton yarn is steeped in it for half an hour, then taken out and dried in the sun. This process is repeated four or five times before the requisite shade of blue is obtained. To get a black dye the bark of the "Kala Gab" tree has to be boiled and the blue yarn soaked in the decoction for two hours, when it is taken out and dried in the sun. This process is repeated till the desired shade is obtained.

Red dye is obtained from the root of a tree called by the hill men "Rang Gach" (Colour tree). The root is cut up into small pieces and hammered into a consistency of pulp. It is then mixed with water to which the ash of the tamarind or "Pole" tree has been added. This water must be carefully strained so that no particle of the ash may remain in it. The yarn is then steeped in the mixture for a whole night. In the morning it is removed and dried slowly in the shade. Two or three soakings are required to secure a brilliant tint of red, and there must be no hurry throughout the process. Before the yarn is dipped for the last time it is smeared with a vegetable oil which has the effect of making the colour absolutely fast.

Yellow and green dyes are also prepared, the former by mixing turmeric and the bark of the mango tree. A combination of indigo and turmeric makes an excellent green, and the preparation in each case is the same as for the blue dye. A solution of astringent leaves is used as a mordant for fixing the dye. Cotton yarn is steeped in the mixture of selected dyes, then hung up in the sun to dry. A series of dyes will give the

required shade, and so fast are these colours that no amount of use or washing will affect them in the least.

*Drink.*—The hill tribes indulge freely in liquor. Their drink consists of a rice-beer and a spirit distilled from rice. The rice beer before fermentation sets in is an excellent thirst-quenching drink, and many a drinking horn have I drained at the end of toilsome marches up hill and down dale. Honey is sometimes added to the beer, which then much resembles mead. The spirit is very pure and potent, and is akin to potheen. The beer is also manufactured from millet and maize, but the liquor brewed from these is very inferior to the rice-beer. The grain is first boiled, then pounded roughly and mixed with a small quantity of yeast. It is then placed in a jar and covered with leaves, preferably of the sugarcane. The mouth of the jar is sealed up, and put away for a week or more to ferment, then the jar is filled with water and it is ready for use. Where rice is plentiful the liquor is served in drinking cups made from gyal horns or bamboo. Among neighbouring tribes and throughout the Chin Hills a reed is pushed to the bottom of the big vessel containing the liquor. On the reed is a small flat piece of bamboo about an inch in length. This is pushed into the liquor, and when the person has sucked sufficient through the reed to leave the piece of bamboo exposed, he has had his share. He pours fresh water into the jar and pushes down the bamboo slip, and another takes his turn. These big earthen jars will hold from two to five gallons of liquor, and I have seen scores of these drained at a big feast.

In the manufacture of the spirit, the bark of the lemon, the orange, or the jack tree is pounded together with rice into small round cakes. These cakes are kept covered with straw or cloth for three or four days and

then dried in the sun for a day or two. The cakes are mixed with coarse boiled rice, and the compound is kept well covered up in a basket for twenty-four hours. It is then mixed with water and placed in earthen pots and kept carefully covered for three days. The time for distilling the spirit has now arrived. A large earthen vessel is placed on the fire, and the prepared mixture is poured into it. On the top of this an earthenware drinking vessel called *korti* is placed, the upper vessel has a hole drilled in the bottom, and is plastered carefully into the mouth of the large lower vessel. A pipe runs from a hole in the side of the *korti* to a jar placed on the ground about six feet distant from the fire; the steam escapes through the upper vessel down the pipe into the vessel which is on the ground, and which is kept continually cool to assist distillation. Some people like to colour the spirit, in which case red sandal-wood powder is placed in a piece of cloth at the mouth of the tube entering the lower jar, which gives the liquor a pinkish colour.

*The Hill-knife.*—The *dao* or hill knife is common to all the tribes. It has a blade about sixteen inches in length, the end is about three inches in breadth and the blade tapers down to a point at the haft. It is sharpened on one side only, and is made to suit right: and left-handed persons separately. The blade is set in a handle of wood, and a bamboo root makes the best handle of all. The manufacture of *daos* is solely in the hands of foreign blacksmiths. The very best blades are made by the Monghyr blacksmiths, of whom several come annually to the district, tempted by the large profits to be made. The reputation of these knives is so great that parties of Lushais and Chins actually come many days' march from their own villages to the bazars in the Hill Tracts to purchase a supply for the village. A blade will sell

for from eight annas to a rupee, and a hillman will require two in the year. The blades as they wear away are passed on as play things for the children. The value of the *dao* to the hillman is priceless, and it is used for every conceivable purpose, a few of which are as follows:—To cut the *jūm*, and with the broad end to dibble in the seeds at sowing time; to weed the *jūm*; to cut posts and prepare bamboo matting for the walls of his house; to strip cane slips to fasten down the roof; to slaughter animals and kill poultry; held under the foot in a sitting position to slice up fish, meat or vegetables, and as a weapon of offence and defence.

Another implement used by the hillmen and manufactured by these blacksmiths is the axe-head. This is about nine inches in length, and the cutting surface is two inches in breadth. The instrument tapers to a point. It is fitted into a long handle, and can be used lengthways as an axe and breadth ways as an adze, fastening into the same handle.

The small sickle used in harvesting completes the implements in use by the hillman.

*Boats.*—Large and small boats, called “dug-outs,” are fashioned out of the jungle trees cut for this purpose, and there is a big export trade in them. The trees generally selected for the purpose are known locally as chapalish, telshar, boilshar, kamdob, pitraj, gambhar, and jarul. A tree growing on or near the river bank is selected, felled and roughly fashioned into canoe shape. The inside is hollowed out and stayed with strong timber ribs called in the vernacular *báká*. This rough shape is then rolled into the river and floated down to the regulation district of Chittagong. The dimensions vary from the “Rob Roy” canoe-pattern, eighteen feet in length, with a beam of two feet six inches, to a big boat sixty feet in length with a beam

of eight feet and costing from ten to a thousand rupees.

The hill people are very clever in the manufacture of cane and bamboo baskets. Cotton and grain are exported in baskets made of finely split bamboos, and others of various sizes and shapes are made for storage purposes. Those woven from cane are the strongest and best in every way.

Guns are held by the hill tribes under passes issued by the Superintendent. The majority are single-barrel, muzzle-loading cap guns, of country make, and are purchased from licensed gunsmiths in Chittagong. There are a few double-barrel guns of both muzzle and breech-loading. A good many flintlock guns are still in use; in fact these are the only weapons of the Kuki tribes. They are old "Tower of London" guns and bear the Tower stamp on the lock. There must have been a very considerable trade in this weapon when they were auctioned off promiscuously at home; for we have withdrawn several thousands from Lushai and Chin land. The supply filtered into the hills through Burma.

The Kukis also use a powder of their own manufacture, and very powerful it is, though slow to ignite. The bullet is of solid iron beaten into rough bullet shape. These guns have a wonderful range, though of course not accurate. Most of our casualties during the expeditions against the Lushais were at a range of two hundred yards, and the bullet used to pass clean through the body. An amusing incident once happened to me as the result of an *impromptu* shooting match with a young brave in a Pankho village. The target was a sheet of blotting paper stuck against a massive wooden gate at the entrance to the village, and the distance fixed was fifty yards. I fired with a snider carbine and hit the mark. My opponent sitting down took long and

careful aim with his flintlock musket and pulled the trigger; fizz went the powder in the pan, followed by a deep boom, and the bullet struck high above the mark. It buried itself deeply in the wood, whereas my leaden bullet was smashed to bits. My opponent immediately set to work with his *dao* to dig out his bullet, which took about ten minutes to accomplish. He then reloaded his piece, using the same bullet, and suggested an exchange weapons. I agreed to this, and the honor of the first shot fell to me. I took a steady aim, the hammer fell, there was a great spluttering in the pan, and I thought a miss fire had occurred, but suddenly boom went the gun, and the bullet with the drone of a big bumble-bee flew gaily into space. The spectators were much amused at my blank look of astonishment, while my opponent sadly bemoaned the loss of his bullet. However, it was his turn to fire. He sat on his heels and it gave me the liveliest satisfaction to see him hold the carbine quite lightly and rest the toe of the heel-plate against his collar-bone. After a long aim the hammer fell, and my stalwart adversary was lying on his back with a badly bruised collar-bone. His bullet, however, had again struck the wood-work, and acknowledging defeat I compensated him for the loss of his iron bullet with three or four balls taken from my smooth-bore cartridges. With the exception of the gun and *dao* the hillmen have no other weapon. The Lushais have iron and bamboo spears. They can hurl the latter with surprising accuracy, and they inflict terrible wounds. The iron spear is only used for thrusting at close quarters.

The saltpetre requisite for the manufacture of gunpowder is made by the collection of the dung of the tame gyal, mixed with earth taken from below the raised floor of the house, which is saturated with urine. A



long cylindrical bamboo basket is filled with this mixture and suspended between wooden posts. Boiling water poured into the mixture dissolves the salts, and they drop through into a large iron pot which has been placed below the suspended basket. This solution, subsequently boiled until it gets quite thick, is drained off and allowed to crystallise. Finely powdered charcoal is added to the crystals, and if possible sulphur, but it can be made without, and is even then very serviceable. The course of manufacture will require four or five days, and should be undertaken in fine warm weather.

The sale of ammunition till 1903 was solely in the hands of the Superintendent, but with the complete disarmament of the Lushais, the necessity for this disappeared. Ammunition is now procurable from licensed vendors at Rangamati and Bandarban.

All musical instruments in use amongst the hill tribe are manufactured locally, and the crudeness of their manufacture is quite in keeping with the sounds they emit.

The principal are drums of various sizes resembling the tom-tom of the plains, but always played by striking with the hands. These are fashioned from hollow logs, having the ends covered with buffalo or gyal hide. The skin of the Iguano lizard is used for covering the small drum heads, and this when struck gives forth a clear sharp note. They have also the flute made from bamboo, and a curious wind instrument resembling a bag-pipe in shape and sound, it is made of a gourd scraped out and dried. It has a mouth-piece of bamboo and six different sized reeds, holed for fingering, are fixed into the gourd with wax. Yet another instrument is a three-stringed lute roughly fashioned out of wood. The strings are of cane and the instrument is played like a guitar. Gongs are made from the ordinary

brass *thala* or plate, great care being taken to select those of rich mellow tone. The above instruments comprise a full band, but fortunately they are seldom played at their full strength. The harmony produced from any single instrument in the list is quite enough to satisfy the musical cravings of any ordinary mortal.

Skilled labour is very difficult to obtain in the hills and is only undertaken by foreigners on an excessively high wage. The ordinary coolie will expect to get his food and ten rupees, and when skilled labour is required, such as carpenters, masons, sawyers, etc., the rate charged will approximate one rupee daily and is hard to obtain at these rates. The Government wage for enforced labour by hillmen is five annas a day and with the exception of those who live solely by plough cultivation every ordinary man is liable to be called on in turn to do fifteen days' work at the above rate of remuneration. As a matter of fact, the demand now-a-days is seldom made, and then only when officers require coolies on tour. This excellent rule should always be maintained as a Government right. The tendency is to slip into regulation ways, but in the interest of the people themselves this should be discouraged in every way and Government should be recognised as the paramount power in the district.

## CHAPTER VI.

Education—Medical aid—Government and local methods of treatment—Patent medicine—List of diseases—Missionary effort.

EDUCATION in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, as throughout the province of Bengal, is in the hands of the Department of Public Instruction, and under the supervision of the Inspector of Schools at Chittagong, assisted by the Superintendent of the Hill Tracts.

Primary and secondary schools instruct the village communities in the Bengali language.

The scope of the primary school covers—

- (a) Reading with fluency and intelligence a fairly advanced book in the vernacular.
- (b) Writing to dictation from the same.
- (c) Working miscellaneous questions in native arithmetic.
- (d) History and Geography of Bengal.
- (e) Practical Geometry and Mensuration.
- (f) Science.

The secondary school imparts instruction of a more advanced nature, but does not go beyond the matriculation standard of the Calcutta University.

The pupils in secondary schools are divided into two sections, according to the stage of instruction which they have reached. The final standard of the upper secondary stage, as above stated, is that of matriculation. The final standard of the lower secondary or middle stage is either three years below that of matriculation, or a standard equivalent thereto fixed by the Local Government.

The pupils in all primary and secondary schools are classified as follows, according to their stages of instruction:—

**Primary Schools—**

- (1) Lower primary stage, including those who have not passed beyond the lower primary standard (II) and who are sub-divided into—
  - (a) Those not reading printed books.
  - (b) Those reading printed books.
- (2) Upper primary stage, including those who have not passed beyond the upper primary standard.

**Secondary Schools—**

- (3) Middle stage, including those who have passed stage (2) but have not passed beyond the lower form of standard VI.
- (4) High stage, including those who have passed stage (3), but have not passed the matriculation examination.

Of elementary schools which teach the vernacular only—

There are at present 74 primary schools in the district with 1,208 male scholars and 82 female scholars in attendance.

There is only one secondary school, which has 107 scholars.

The indigenous or private institutions number 28, with 187 male and 5 female scholars.

The supervising staff for the above schools consists of a Sub-Inspector of Schools and two inspecting pandits.

The annual Government grant for primary education amounts to seven thousand rupees.

The history of education in the Chittagong Hill Tracts commences with the foundation of a boarding school at Chandraghona in October 1862. At this school elementary education was imparted to the hill boys. There were two teachers and the pupils were

divided into two classes. At a later period the school was divided into a Burmese class and a Chakma class; in the former Burmese, English and Bengali were taught, while in the latter only English and Bengali. In 1869 the school was transferred to Rangamati and the designation was changed into the Rangamati Government Boarding School.

In 1873 the school was raised to the Middle English status, and during its existence as such it succeeded in passing nineteen boys in the Middle English, four in the Middle Vernacular and forty in the Upper Primary Scholarship Examinations. As a Middle English school the Government grant amounted to five thousand rupees a year, the greater portion of which was expended in the maintenance of the boarding establishment. The success of the school prompted the authorities in December 1890 to raise the status to that of a High English school, and it has since remained as such. The school has succeeded in passing twenty-two boys in the Entrance Examination, of whom thirteen, however, were Bengalis. Amongst the eight successful hill boys are the Chakma Chief and his brother. These results are not altogether satisfactory, but the educational staff has been reorganised lately, and already shews promise of improvement. The boarding establishment accommodates fifty hill boys, who are boarded at Government expense. Candidates to be admitted as boarders have to be recommended by the Circle Chiefs and headmaster, and approved of by the Superintendent. The question of the nature of education of the hill boys is a difficult one; in the very great majority of instances an education in the vernacular meets all the requirements of the people, and is preferred by the hill people themselves; and in my opinion the results obtained from an English education are hardly commensurate with the

heavy outlay involved, and I think the money would be far better laid out in stimulating education in the vernacular of the district alone. The introduction of the Kindergarten system is a token of great promise, and should eventually prove as beneficial to the hill boy as it has to the children of hilly Switzerland. It will cultivate the power of observation and help to destroy the present very injurious system of learning by rote the text-books of each year. But to effect this great and much desired change the teachers must first be taught; for nothing more monotonous can be conceived than the Kindergarten system in the hands of ill-trained teachers. The hill boy is naturally of a mechanical turn of mind, and this system, if rightly applied, should help him very materially to make a better use of his life than has been possible to his predecessors.

The annual expenditure of the Rangamati High English School amounts to six thousand rupees, and the amount realised in fees is seven hundred rupees.

#### MEDICAL.

The present medical aid of the district consists of hospitals at Rangamati and Bandarban, and charitable dispensaries at Rangamati, Burkal, Manikcherri, Mahalcherri and Lama, while a proposition to open another dispensary at Chandraghona is before the Bengal Government for sanction. The medical staff consists of a Civil Surgeon in charge of the district and a Civil Hospital Assistant at each of the dispensaries: in addition there are compounders, bheestis or water-carriers, and mehters or sweepers. The hospital at Rangamati is a fine airy building, very well equipped with medicines and surgical instruments. The dispensaries are primarily intended for outdoor relief, but accommodation has been supplied in the event of any serious case being brought in.

In 1902 there were only the hospitals at Bandarban and Rangamati to meet the requirements of the whole district; since then dispensaries have been opened at Burkal, Lama, Mahalcherri and Manikcherri and medical aid has been brought within reach of the greater number of inhabitants of the district. That this great boon is being duly appreciated is shown from a comparison of the figures.

In the year 1902 the total number of patients in receipt of medical aid amounted to 11,477, while the figures of 1904 show 20,936, exclusive of police cases and these figures will materially increase. A dispensary has been opened in the Rangamati Bazar and is proving an immense success. The total number of cases treated in the Rangamati Hospital during 1904 was some 1,400, while during the present year over 7,000 cases have been attended to. During 1904 there were 345 operations including 10 of a major nature. The hill people have been in past years very averse to coming in for medical treatment and in most cases prefer their own treatment. This is in no way due to a dislike or fear of our treatment, but to the great inconvenience of coming in and being treated at our hospitals, and they will as a rule only resort to our aid when the disease is in an advanced stage, thus minimising very materially the chances of successful treatment.

To convey a serious case to hospital entails a very considerable amount of inconvenience and derangement of the daily routine to a hill family. Apart from the actual conveyance of the patient, it is necessary to depute persons to attend and minister to his wants, as also to bring in necessary food supplies. All this entails a considerable amount of hardship to the family, and acts as a strong deterrent in all but the most serious cases. Endeavour is made to cope with this difficulty

by providing accommodation for in-door patients at the dispensaries and by small monetary assistance to meet the food requirements. I am hopeful that in time we shall secure the confidence of the people so that they may secure the full advantage of the generous aid given them by Government. The medical budget of the district amounts to Rs. 13,791 per annum. In addition to the Government aid, the Baptist Mission renders great assistance in the services of Dr. Taylor, a fully qualified medical practitioner, holding an excellent London degree. Since the opening of the medical branch of the Mission last year over 2,000 cases have been treated and Dr. Taylor is making a great name for himself amongst the hill people.

The following table gives the numbers of patients treated during the year 1904. Formerly plainmen were markedly in the majority of those receiving treatment: it is pleasing to note that this is now altering, and that the people of the hills form the majority:—

NAME OF HOSPITAL AND DISPENSARY.	PLAINSMEN.			HILLMEN.		
	Male.	Female.	Children.	Male.	Female.	Children.
1. Rangamati Hospital	1,036	...	...	544	...	...
2. " Charitable Dispensary.	3,291	248	423	1,775	229	745
3. Bandarban Police Hospital.	284	...	...	...	...	...
4. " Public Hospital.	884	15	42	527	59	100
5. Mahalcherri Dispen- sary.	651	4	6	1,797	380	712
6. Manikcherri Dispen- sary.	1,287	214	152	2,154	660	568
7. Lama Dispensary ...	720	28	59	660	52	71
8. Burkal Dispensary...	425	8	4	1,608	42	104
<b>Total</b> ..	<b>8,578</b>	<b>512</b>	<b>686</b>	<b>9,065</b>	<b>1,422</b>	<b>2,300</b>



The principal diseases amongst the hill people are fever, bowel-complaints, worms, skin diseases and rheumatism. These diseases are due to malarial influences, exposure to the inclemencies of the weather, unwholesome diet, such as badly cured and rotten fish, pork which is eaten in large quantities, large amount of chillies, and uncleanness in personal habits. Venereal disease is, I am thankful to say, uncommon amongst the hill people, and outbreaks of small-pox are rare. Cholera yearly claims a certain number of victims, but the disease is always introduced by the floating traders and workmen who come into the hills from the plains. The diet of these people is very bad, and they will keep cooked food for two whole days or even longer. This easily gets contaminated, and they spread the contamination wherever they go. Cholera has been exceedingly bad this year along the Karnaphuli river and its tributaries, and it was undoubtedly introduced by a party of Bengalis from the plains who had come up to cut bamboos in the Kaptai forest reserve.

Vaccination operations are conducted annually throughout the hills in the cold-weather months, and Government allows a grant of three thousand rupees for the purpose. In 1902 there were 6,816 vaccinations, of which 6,721 were successful. This work is carried on under great disadvantages. The extreme distances and difficulties of transport, combined with the smallness of the village hamlets and the scattered character of the population, render the work of the vaccinating staff exceedingly arduous. The people themselves have not the slightest objection to the process, and consider it a Government order which must be complied with.

There is no registration of births or deaths in the Hill Tracts; it is impossible therefore to give a comparative statement of the general health.

All the tribes inhabiting the Hill Tracts possess a certain knowledge of useful drugs to be extracted from the jungle produce of the district. The Chakmas especially have gone into the matter fully, and possess an intimate knowledge of a number of plants with medicinal properties. As a rule, however, cure of ordinary ailments is left to nature, and in aggravated cases *pujas* or exorcisms are performed. One drug the value of which the hillman thoroughly appreciates is santonine for worms, and great demands are made for a supply of the medicine from the different hospitals. The hill people bear surgical operations with great fortitude, and make wonderful rallies from the most trying and difficult operations.

They attempt to treat fractures amongst themselves with splints, but the results are usually terrible malformations. There are several systems of cupping in force; the most common is that of wet cupping, when the affected part is moistened with water or even spittle and several fine cuts made with a knife. A piece of bamboo or horn with a hole in the end is then applied, and the air exhausted by sucking through the hole: a piece of clay is then applied to the hole, and the cup is left on the affected part for some time. On removal an ounce or so of blood will have been drawn away. This system is a favourite one for local inflammations and contusions, and is really very effective.

A drastic treatment for an abscess is to make a metal skewer red hot and then thrust it into the seat of the abscess. I have seen this operation performed,

and it merely elicited a grunt from the unfortunate sufferer. Bleeding from wounds is stopped by burnt rag mixed with chewed grass made up into a plaster and tied on to the wound with a strip of cloth. Pig's fat is also applied to wounds and burns. I was once brought a peculiar shaped fungus and was assured that it was a very great specific against sickness. This fungus is supposed to grow from the milk of a tigress that may fall to the ground when she is suckling her young.

The fat of the tiger and a portion of its liver, the gall bag of the python, the testicles of the otter, the fat of a variety of black diver, are all potent drugs amongst the hill tribes, and are supposed to have wonderful effects in cases of impotency, barrenness and hysteria.

The hill tribes like the natives of India have a great fear of the labial hairs of the greater felines; in powder or in ash they are said to contain the most powerful philter known and a pinch in the possession of a gallant can captivate any maiden, or, in that of a beauty, can bring any gallant to her feet.

There is a plant called *biji cholya* the leaves of which have a wonderful medicinal property. One side applied to a wound acts as a stimulant and irritant, cleaning the wound, the other side is then applied and has a most soothing and healing effect.

In the case of snake-bite the wound is cut and tight ligatures are applied to the limb, but no moderation is exercised in the application of the ligature. It is left on so long that much harm is done, and fatal results not infrequently follow. The remedy is often worse than the disease, for they have but very slight knowledge of the different kinds of snakes, and the same remedy is applied to all bites from both poisonous and non-poisonous snakes.

The following is a list of some of the diseases with their Chakma equivalents:—

Noa-beesh		} Remittent fever.
Noa-peera	... }	
Bahoo nutra	...	Diabetes.
Phulya peera	...	Dropey.
Ajanya	...	Ulceration of the womb.
Hapanee kas	...	Asthma.
Rog ashari	...	Stone.
Khoy janiya	...	Cancer.
Beesh phora	...	Carbuncle.
Moish phora	...	Abscess.
Beesh bat	...	Spasms.
Naree bat	...	Palpitations.
Geera chorongi bat	...	Rheumatism.
Sang peera	...	Dysentery.
Phulya beesh	...	Jaundice.
Koor peera	...	Diphtheria.
Mukjaree	...	Thrush.
Dembal	...	Boil.
Danga peera	...	Cholera.

#### MISSIONARY EFFORT.

The London Baptist Missionary Society started work in Chittagong and the southern portion of the Hill Tracts in 1812. The first missionary shortly afterwards died a sad death at the hands of the Magh boy whom he had adopted. The lad impatient of restraint broke out into a fit of ungovernable rage and stabbed Mr. De Bruyn with a knife, and the last moments of a signally devoted life were spent in the effort to obtain pardon and release for the penitent lad. Mr. Peacock, the next missionary, died of fever in 1820, and was succeeded by Mr. Fink. In 1822 there were 163 converts joined to small churches at Chakaria, Munjariya, Harbang and Cox's Bazar, but during the first Burmese war these converts were scattered, and most of them it is feared died of want or were put to the sword. After the

death of Mr. Fink the mission was not re-opened until 1891. In that year Mr. De Cruz took up the work at Chittagong and made annual journeys into the Hill Tracts. These journeys were purely evangelistic, as there were no Christians in the Hill Tracts at that time, or if there were they could only have been the descendants of those who perished during the war, and that is hardly likely after the lapse of so many years. The ill-effects upon Mr. De Cruz's health of repeated attacks of Chittagong fever made his retirement necessary. Mr. Maclean succeeded him, and during his incumbency the first fruits of the new effort were gathered in. Two young men by name Ko Tha Hi and Nu La Fru were converted and baptised, and have since done considerable work as evangelists to their own people. Mr. Maclean proceeded to England on furlough in 1895 and had fully hoped to return to this work, but he died at Port Said of pneumonia on his way back to India. Mr. Donald, who had taken over charge on Mr. Maclean's departure, laboured at Chittagong for five years, making the usual journeys into the Hill Tracts, and at his retirement in 1899 left three out-stations, three schools, and a Christian Church of seventy-five members.

Early in 1900 Mr. Hughes took over the charge. It was now wisely determined that the work in the hills required closer superintendence than could be effected through the periodical visits of the missionary stationed at Chittagong, and the measure of success now attending their efforts led the Society to establish their head-quarters at Rangamati. At the close of 1903 the number of baptised believers was about 204, with a Christian community of about 600. The missionaries are striving to make their work self-supporting, and eventually they may succeed, for the hillman, though

his income be but small and his livelihood precarious is neither niggardly nor mean. Day schools have been opened in some 14 villages, and three of these are small boarding-schools. It is exceedingly difficult to get the hill children to attend school, but small boarding schools in several directions, well-conducted, may serve to popularise education. It is from these small boarding schools that the Mission hope to secure their teachers and evangelists for the future. They also hope to induce the girls to attend classes, and confidently expect that ere many years pass this branch of their work will necessitate the appointment of a missionary who shall give his undivided attention to it. The Society has also decided to call in the aid of medicine and surgery, and Doctor and Mrs. G. O. Taylor have arrived to take up this work.

It is safe to predict that a fully qualified medical missionary with a helper in his wife, who was a Sister of one of the London Hospitals and has obtained her obstetrical diploma, will win the confidence of the hill-men and women, and a great work may be accomplished in the way of their relief.

The new Mission House is well and strongly built, and the present staff consists of Mr. and Mrs. Hughes, Mr. Reid, Dr. and Mrs. Taylor, with a native staff of 7 evangelists and 14 teachers.

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NOTE.—Since writing the above the Society has submitted a project which is before the Government for sanction, of building a fully equipped hospital at Chandraghona under the direct management of Dr. Taylor. This scheme will prove an inestimable benefit to the people.

## CHAPTER VII.

The Chakma tribe—Derivation of name—Physique—Intellectual attainments—Dress, male and female—Ornaments—History—Chakma Chief's dynasty—Habits—Marriage customs—Religion—Pujas or worships—Death ceremonies—Birth ceremonies—Habitations—Superstitions—Food—Drink and smoke.

At the present day the Chakma tribe is scattered throughout the Hill Tracts, and quite a number reside in independent Hill Tippera. The census returns of 1901 give the total strength of the Chakmas residing in the Chittagong Hill Tracts as 44,329, made up of 23,526 males and 20,803 females. Including the Chakmas residing out of the Hill Tracts, the total strength of the tribe approximates 50,000.

The recognised head of the tribe is Raja Bhuban Mohan Roy Chowdhury, who has his head-quarters at Rangamati.

The tribe calls itself Chakma. It is called "Thek" by the Burmese, and is known as "Tui thek" by the Kukis. "Tui" in their language means water, and the name "Tui thek" is given them, as they reside principally on the Karnaphuli river and its tributaries, the Kasalong, Shubalong and Chengri.

At the present day there are only two sub-tribes, that is, Chakmas and Tanchangya. The Doignaks, mentioned in Risley's "Tribes and Castes of Bengal," are not recognised as part of the tribe, but I believe they still exist in Arracan.

The sept is the unit of the tribal organisation for public purposes, and each sept was presided over by

a hereditary Dewan or Manager, called by the Tangchangya "Amu," who represented the family of the founder. Formerly this officer collected the poll-tax, keeping a proportion for himself and paying the balance with a yearly offering of the first fruits of the land to the Chief of the tribe. Since the introduction of the rules of 1892, and the mauza system, these functions have devolved on the mauza headman. The authority of the Dewans has thus been much curtailed, though care has been taken to assign mauzas to most of the Dewans.

The Chakma is of medium stature and thick-set build, with a fair complexion and a cheerful and honest-looking face. His features are not as pronouncedly Mongolian as those of the rest of the dwellers in the Hill Tracts. Physically he is a finer specimen of manhood than the Magh. He possesses none of the hereditary laziness of the latter, and although his independence will prevent him working as a menial for others, yet he works exceedingly hard to further his own interests. He possesses a retentive memory, grasps detail easily, and is quick to appreciate the advantages and the comforts that can be secured by industry.

The higher class Chakma is decidedly an intellectual man of thrifty habits. He is also a good manager. The superior advantages of plough cultivation, with its steady rotation of crops, is very apparent to him, and in its favour he is rapidly abandoning the primitive cultivation of the *jūm*. It is also satisfactory to note that his example is being followed by the peasant class.

The Chakma, though generally addicted to drink, does not smoke to excess. The *hookah* takes the place of the Magh cheroot, and he does not indulge in the use of either *ganja* (hemp) or opium. As a tribe they are stolid, argumentative and stubborn, but truthful.



They are, however, entirely lacking in the bright qualities of the Maghs.

In dress the men resemble the Bengali and wear a white turban, with coat and *dhoti* (loin cloth). The upper classes wear white socks and shoes of European manufacture. The Chakma woman is not to be compared with her Magh sister, and the sparkling vivacity of the latter is entirely missing in the former. She possesses medium looks and an excellent build, but is heavy and uninteresting. The leaven of Hinduism is noticeable amongst the upper classes, who seclude their womenfolk. The Chakma woman brushes her hair back and ties it in a loose knot at the back of the head. She wears a turban of white homespun cloth called a *kabong*. The neck and shoulders are bare, and a strip of red cloth which covers the bosoms is attached to the petticoat, a garment made of homespun cloth dyed a dark blue with a deep dark red border at the bottom. The combined garment is worn tightly wrapped round the body and twisted in at the waist, and reaches almost to the ankles. Her ornaments consist of silver earrings, necklace, bracelets and anklets. There are two varieties of necklace, one worn close round the neck and is of massive make, the other a broad band of filigree work in silver reaching below the breasts and known as a *chandra har*.

The tribe consider themselves descendants of emigrants from Bihar who came over and settled in these parts in the days of the Arracanese Kings. After a great deal of trouble I have succeeded in piecing together the semblance of a history, compiled from notes given me by the Chakma Chief and some of the influential Dewans of the tribe. It is as follows:—

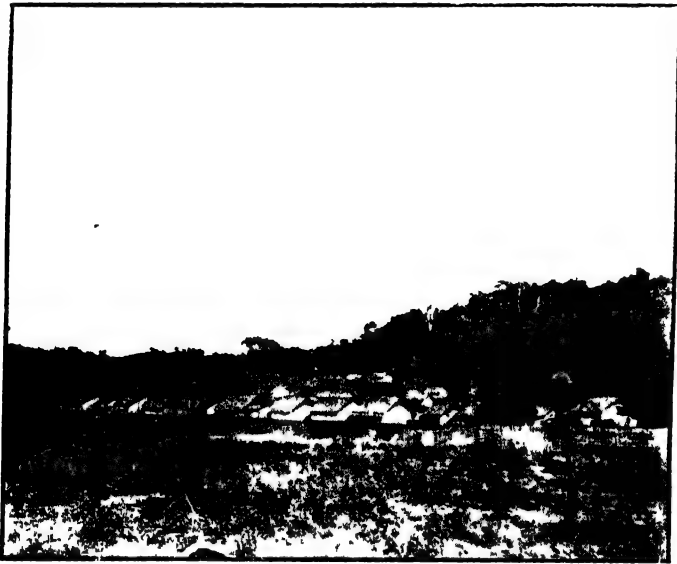
Some centuries ago there reigned at a place called Champanagar in Bihar a Kshatriya (warrior) King of

the *Swryja* or Sun race. He had two sons, Bijoygiri and Samagiri.

Bijoygiri, the elder, at the head of an army started forth to conquer new worlds, and crossing the river Meghna, which is described as a sea (Chittagong Chara) he marched against the Arracanese forces and defeated them. Bijoygiri now prepared to return home, but news reached him that his father had died, and that his younger brother, Samagiri, taking advantage of the elder brother's absence, had usurped the throne. In consequence of this news Bijoygiri made terms with the Arracanese King and settled down in the neighbourhood of the Naf river, to the south of the Chittagong district. His people intermarried with the Arracanese, and gradually became converts to Buddhism. They subsequently migrated to the valley of the Matamuri river, where traces of their occupancy in the shape of tanks and ruined buildings still exist. Here Bijoygiri raised four of his Captains, by name (1) Dhoorjya, (2) Koorjya, (3) Dhabana, (4) Peerabhanga, to the rank of Dewans or Managers to assist him in ruling the country.

The last of the Champa Nagar line of Chiefs was Sher Dowlat, surnamed the "Pagla" or madman. This Chief was credited with supernatural powers and was supposed to purify himself from sin by removing his inside, washing, and replacing the same. The curiosity of his wife was aroused, and when spying upon him she was discovered by the Chief, who in his rage slew her and the whole of his family. His eccentricities and tyranny grew so great that his people finally killed him, and fearing the consequences removed themselves further north into the hills and settled in the neighbourhood of Rangonea on the Karnaphuli river.

Discussions amongst the people, together with the fact of their having no recognised head to whom they

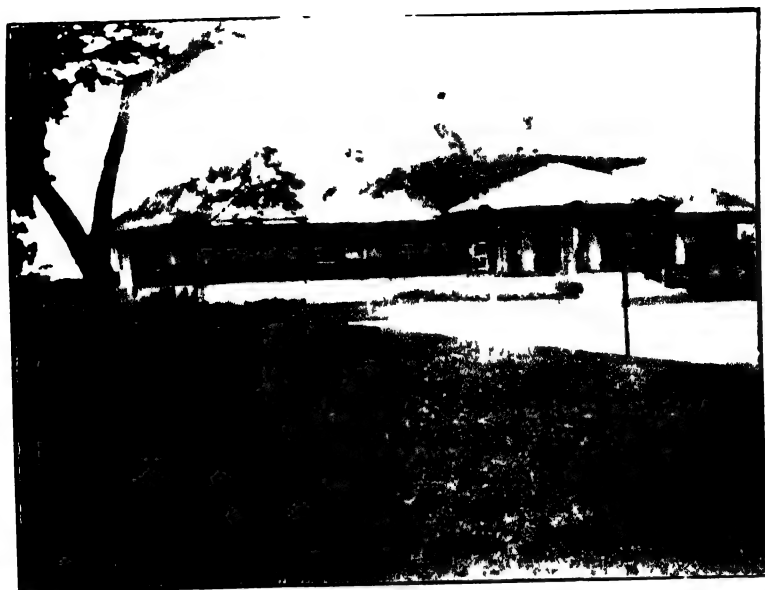


MAGH VILLAGE

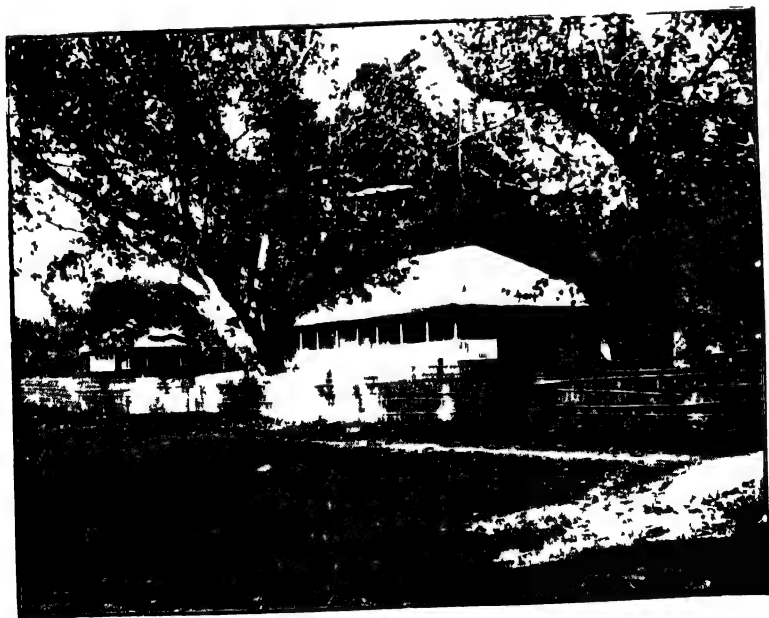


might refer their difficulties, finally prompted the descendants of the Dewans to take counsel amongst themselves and to decide on selecting another Chief who should rule over the tribe. To this end they despatched an embassy to the Matamuri to see if by any chance any one survived of the old royal family. Portions of the tribe had been left behind, and a few isolated families had remained in the valley of the Matamuri river. Amongst these there was a widow and her infant son. As she was in very poor circumstances, a kindly Magh took pity on her and received them into his family. One day the widow was assisting the family in the *jūm* and had placed her son to rest in the shade of a big tree. The Magh being thirsty was on his way to fetch water from the spring, and when passing under the tree saw to his horror a huge king-cobra snake with raised head and extended hood in the act apparently of striking the sleeping boy. The Magh was too startled at first to do anything and remained standing perfectly still, when to his surprise he perceived that the deadly snake instead of attacking the child was shielding its face from the burning rays of the sun with its outspread hood. The Magh then moved forward, and the snake on his approach quietly glided away and was lost in the forest. The man at once thought that the infant must be of royal birth, so picking him up tenderly, he carried him back to the *jūm* and besought the astonished mother to return at once to the house, and in future to live at her ease while he and his family attended to her wants. He, however, exacted a promise that if her fortunes changed for the better, she would remember his services, a promise that the widow gladly made. The embassy sent from Rangones finally came to the Magh's house, where they heard of the wonderful thing that had happened to the child.

They accepted this as an augury that the child was to be their Chief, so taking with them the widow and her boy, and accompanied by the Magh and his family, they returned to Rangonea. Careful enquiries were made, and the boy was proved to be a direct descendant of Dhabana, one of Bijoygiri's four captains. He was unanimously elected Chief of the tribe, under the title of Sher Dowlat the second, and Raj Nagar near Rangonea was fixed upon as his residence and the head-quarters of the tribe. The kindly Magh was raised to the position of a village headman, and his descendants still flourish and are honored among the Chakma tribe. In course of time the head-quarters of the tribe were moved to Rangamat. At this period the management of the country still remained in the hands of four Dewans, and the powers exercised and privileges enjoyed by them were very considerable. The territory occupied by the tribe was parcelled out into four taluks or administrative areas, and the Dewan was supreme in his taluk. He paid his assessment of revenue to the Chief, and exercised full criminal and civil powers, death sentences alone being referred to the Chief for confirmation. Later on more Dewans were appointed and acquired their powers by purchase from the Chief, and the importance of the original four Dewans was thus materially reduced. The house-tax levied by the Dewans was three or four rupees annually on each house in their taluk, each man being liable to render fifteen days' *begar* or free labour, or compound for the same by the payment of two rupees. A tithe had to be given on all first fruits, and if any wild gyal, deer, or pig were killed the Dewan was entitled to a hind quarter. On the occurrence of a marriage in the Dewan's family, each house had to pay one rupee and supply a certain quantity of food and liquor for the general feasting that



THE SULLIVAN RESIDENCE - LANGKAMAU



A REST-HOUSE, PANDARPAN





took place at such a time. In the disposal of all cases of a civil or criminal nature, both parties and their witnesses paid a rupee each to the Dewan. A woman desirous of possessing and wearing certain silver ornaments, such as anklets, a particular kind of necklace called *chandra har*, and bracelets called *bahoo*, would have to pay the Dewan a fee of thirty or forty rupees. The Dewans in their turn had to pay the Chief eight annas out of the sum realised on each house-tax, to meet his requirements of *bagar* up to fifteen days, to render assistance with the supply of liquor and food at marriages and other ceremonial occasions, while on the marriage of the Chief or his immediate blood relatives they had to make a personal present in money of sum varying from five to fifty rupees. The Dewans purchase the right to license the wearing of jewelry and to exercise other tribal powers. Parties appearing before the Chief in civil or criminal cases had also to pay one rupee each.

The following is, as far as I have been able to trace, a list of the Chakma Chiefs from the founding of the tribe to the present day:—

1. Bijoygiri, somewhere about 1630.
2. Ohaman Khan, „ „ 1650.
3. Jallal Khan, about 1715A.D. He paid tribute to Fumuck Shah, Mogul Wazir of Chittagong.
4. Shermust Khan.
5. Shukdeb Roy, who made a settlement with the British Government in 1737.
6. Sher Dowlat Pagla, assassinated by his people 1776.
7. Sher Dowlat II. Revolted against the Government, but in 1787 he made his submission, and in 1789 the Government altered his tribute from five hundred maunds of cotton to a cash payment of Rs. 2,224-4-4.
8. Tabbaz Khan.
9. Jabbar Khan.

10. Dharam Bux Khan. Died in 1832.
11. Ranee Kalindee, 1832—1874.
12. Harish Chandra Roy, 1874—1885. In 1884 the affairs of the tribe were ordered to be managed by a council owing to the ill-health of the Chief.
13. Bhuban Mohan Roy Chowdhury, the present Chief, who was installed on the 7th May 1897.

In the early days of their history the Chakmas were purely a nomadic tribe, and till the time of Sher Dowlat "Pagla" the management of the internal affairs of the tribe rested with four Dewans, the successors of the original Dewans created by the founder Bijoygiri. They collected all rents and paid a certain portion to the Chief. Subsequently, owing to the payment of tribute by the tribe, first to the Moguls and subsequently to the British Government, an assessment was made on each Dewan for a share of the amount of tribute that had to be paid. This was continued till the reign of Dharam Bux Khan. This Chief finding the influence of the Dewans somewhat irksome, tried to lessen it by creating several additional Dewans, and he was to a certain extent successful. He was succeeded by the principal of his three wives, the Ranee Kalindee. This Chieftainess rendered the Government a certain amount of aid in the dark days of the Indian Mutiny. She secured and delivered up some of the sepoy's of the native regiment that mutinied at Chittagong and had betaken themselves to the hills to avoid retribution. Otherwise, for forty years she proved a thorn in the side of the Government. She was an exceedingly able woman, and, having surrounded herself with Bengali lawyers from Chittagong, fought very hard to avoid meeting her obligation, and put forward all sorts of real and imaginary claims to land settlements in the Chittagong district itself. She exercised a very great

influence over her tribe, and was generally feared. She made a permanent settlement with the Dewans, and created others from amongst her families; in fact she was sole mistress of the hills till the year 1860, when the patience of Government was exhausted, and the Chittagong Hill Tracts were created a district under the direct management of Government.

Kalindee Ranee, and also the second wife, Atapbi by name, were both childless, but the third wife, Haribi, had a daughter who was named Chikonbi. This girl was given in marriage to Gopi Nath Dewan. One child, Harish Chandra Roy, was borne to them, and he subsequently became Chief of the tribe.

It is said that Choman Khan married into the family of the Wazir of Chittagong, and received the Muhammadan title of "Khan" in consequence; but whatever truth there may be in this report, it is very noticeable how common Muhammadan names are amongst the Chakmas, who doubtless adopted them in difference to the ruling power of their time. Similarly, an attempt was made to introduce Hindu names about the time of Kalindee Ranee, but I am glad to say that at the present day this meets with but little support, and the bestowal of hill names is now more frequent.

The history of the Chakma race, as far as their connection with the Kshatriyas from Champanagar the capital of Anga Bhagalpur, is a myth. The origin of the tribe is doubtless due to unions between the soldiers of Nawab Shaista Khan, the Governor of Lower Bengal, under the Emperor Aurangzeb about 1670 A.D. and the hill women. They were Buddhist by birth, but evidently had a leaning to the religion of their fathers, as the Muhammadan names of their chiefs testify. But in the time of Kalindee Ranee between 1832—1874

the tendency to Hinduism becomes strongly apparent and the worship of Siva and Kali crept into their ritual. It may be safely assumed that the attempt to connect themselves with the Kshatriyas of Bihar originated at this time.

The Chakmas now form a settled tribe, and the same village site is occupied from generation to generation. Several of the wealthier headmen have built themselves houses of a permanent nature, but the bulk of the tribe are quite content to occupy houses built in the hill fashion, which are eminently suited to the requirements of the country.

*Marriage customs.*—It is not obligatory to marry within the tribe, but this refers to the men alone, as a Chakma woman marrying outside her tribe is unknown. The septs or *goza*, as they are called in the Chakma language, may intermarry freely. A complete list of the Chakma septs will be found in the Appendix.

When a Chakma lad has reached a marriageable age, his parents or guardians will fix on a suitable girl, and negotiations are opened with her parents through a third person. Should these prove successful, the lad's parents proceed to the intended bride's house, taking with them a bottle of wine. They carry on a conversation on general topics and then retire. They make a second visit a few days later, taking with them another bottle of wine; a further conversation ensues, but all mention of the intended match is studiously avoided. A third and final visit is made, this time with wine, cooked fowl, and rice cakes. On this occasion all reserve is broken down, and the important topic of matrimony is introduced. The details are settled, and the date of the ceremony fixed. On the day preceding the marriage the bridegroom's party take

with them presents with clothes and jewelry, and march to the strains of festive music to the bride's house. That night the bride is adorned with her new clothes and jewelry, and the whole night is given up to festivities, the bridegroom coming in for much chaff from the girl-friends of the bride. The next day, after the morning meal, the bridegroom's party escort the bride to his house, and in the evening the actual ceremony takes place. The bride and bridegroom are made to sit together, and two of their relations, a man and a woman, will with the consent of all present bind the couple together with a white cloth. The bride has then to place cooked rice and a prepared *pān* (betelnut) in the mouth of the bridegroom, and he has to do the same to her. As soon as the cloth is loosened both spring up, and if the wife is first on her feet she will always possess unbounded influence over the affections of her husband. They are now considered duly married, but the young couple must revisit the wife's village or house, where another and final feast is held.

*Marriage price.*—The marriage price is determined by the social condition of the contracting parties, but the average price paid for the bride is seventy-five rupees, or the equivalent of a five-pound note. The bride's family will spend this amount on feasting, while the bridegroom's little bill for hospitality will run to double the amount. Among influential headmen no price is demanded for the girl, but very large sums of money are spent on both sides in feasting the community.

*Elopement.*—There is also a marriage by elopement, but in these cases the parents of the girl can demand her restitution on three separate occasions. If the ardent lover can successfully bring off a fourth elopement, he has secured the prize and won his wife. An instance of this marriage by elopement has recently occur

the village of one of the most influential and enlightened of the Chakma Dewans.

A young man of twenty-one and a girl of fifteen, both of the same village, fell violently in love with each other. The girl's father had made other matrimonial arrangements for his daughter and wanted to give her in marriage with a Chakma residing in a village at some distance from their own. This did not commend itself to the young lovers, and they eloped together. The father of the girl lodged a complaint with the Dewan, and, according to tribal custom, all the relatives of the youth had to turn out and search for the missing couple. They were soon traced, and the girl returned to her parents, while to the lover was meted out a fine of ten rupees. This unsuccessful attempt, however, only fanned the passion of the ardent lovers, and they again eloped. A fresh hue and cry ensued, again they were captured, and the fine was increased to rupees fifteen. The perplexed father this time handed over his wilful daughter to the custody of the Dewan, and this arrangement promised to prove successful. Unfortunately the girl's father in a sudden fit of generosity, determined to give a feast to the village, and sent a boy to fetch his daughter from the Dewan's house in order that she might assist in the preparations for the feast. The love sick girl made the most of her opportunity, and giving the boy the slip, she once more joined her faithful lover. and together they fled into the forest.

They were again caught and hauled before the Dewan. This time the Dewan argued with the father as to the futility of attempting to further stop the marriage, and the father fearing a fourth elopement and the consequent loss of any monetary gain for his daughter's hand, finally gave his consent to the marriage. One hundred rupees was fixed as the price

to be paid for the girl, and the lover and his relatives agreed to this, but until the sum was paid, the girl was to remain in the Dewan's house, and the lover was forbidden any access to her. He was loyal to his bargain, and accompanied by his brothers he went off to collect and sell forest produce, and the money thus received he deposited with the Dewan. When the sum reached seventy-five rupees, the Dewan, whose sympathies were entirely with the young couple, persuaded the father to accept this amount and allow the marriage to take place, stipulating that the remaining twenty-five rupees should be paid by instalments. This was agreed to, the Dewan himself gave a great feast to the devoted lovers, and they received the congratulations of the whole community. The outstanding amount was liquidated shortly afterwards, and the young couple are now supremely happy.

*Religion.*—The religion of the Chakmas is Buddhism strongly permeated with Hindu and animistic rites. The general tenets are Buddhistic, and Buddhist priests minister to their religious wants; but *puja* is made and sacrifices are offered to Kali, the Hindu goddess, and the spirits of rivers and nameless *bhuts* and demons are also propitiated. The tendency of the tribe, however, inclines more to Buddhism than to Hinduism, and Buddhism I trust will finally win the day.

*Puja* is made or festivals are celebrated to secure good harvests and the general welfare of the community, to guard against outbreak of sickness, attacks by tigers, and to secure immunity from the evil influences of *bhuts* and naughty spirits.

The following particulars of various *pujas* were supplied me by one of the most revered of the Chakma Pujarees or officiating priests:—

(1) *Biardá*, the name of a deity to whom *puja* is made by the whole community to secure a good harvest.

The ceremony must be held by the side of running water, whether rivulet or river. Two leaves, one on top of the other, are placed by the water's edge, a bamboo slip pegs them down in the centre. On the leaves are placed uncooked hill rice, parched rice, and flowers. In the meantime, a cock, after being carried round the village to the accompaniment of incantations to the spirit to make the season propitious, is brought to the riverside. Two leaves are thrown, as if casting dice, and if one remains top uppermost and the other reversed, it is considered a good omen, and the fowl is at once killed by cutting off the head with a *dao*; but until the leaves fall in this way, the fowl cannot be killed. Some of the blood is sprinkled on the rice and other things placed on the leaves, and a little of this rice is taken at random and the number of grains counted. Should the number prove to be uneven, the *puja* has been successful, if not the attempt must be repeated until the above conditions are successfully met, when the *puja* is brought to a close. The sacrificial fowl is eaten by any one caring to remove it.

(2) *The Ganga or Ganges Puja*.—Four bamboo stakes are fixed in running water and on these a platform or altar is erected standing waist high. A double handful of river earth is placed in a circle on the altar, and into this two leaves are pegged down as before, and rice, parched rice, and flowers placed thereon. But Ganga can only be appeased by the sacrifice of a he-goat. The selected victim is marched round the village to the chanting of prayers for the general welfare. It is then brought to the waterside, where the leaves are thrown as in the previous *puja*, and when they fall correctly the goat's head is struck off and laid on the altar. The head and carcase is subsequently removed and eaten at a feast held to celebrate the occasion.



(3) *Narayan*, and (4) *Borsila* are *pujas* very similar to the above, and are celebrated in running water to secure the general well-being of the community.

The following *pujas* are celebrated on dry land. In each case a space is cleared near the river bank, and the leaves are fixed down in the centre with the same accessories as have been already mentioned :—

(5) *Paromeshwari*, (6) *Athiya*, (7) *Than*, all for the general welfare, a pigeon, duck, or pig being substituted for the fowl and he-goat.

(8) *Mothiya*, to guard against attacks from tigers.

(9) *Bhut*, to ward off the visit of demons.

(10) *Mel Kumari*, *Bott Kumari*, *Phul Kumari*, three sisters who have to be propitiated to secure immunity against cholera and small-pox.

(11) *Logochiya*, to ward off any sickness.

(12) *Poa*; this is the mischievous boy, who pinches and scratches persons, and wherever a pinch or scratch is inflicted, a sore or abscess is the consequence. Fowls are sacrificed to appease this elfish sprite by the sufferers from boils or ulcers.

13. On the 1st of the month Bysak, the Bengali New Year, the Chakma Chief, accompanied by all the members of his family and a certain number of his raiyats and an "Ojha" or priest, pay an early visit to the river. The Ojha sacrifices several fowls and goats and utters certain invocations, and the Chief then allows the past to go into oblivion, and fresh and excellent resolutions are made for the New Year. This ceremony is known as *Boorpara*. On the second day a similar ceremony is performed by the Dewans and more respectable of the people, while any subsequent date is suitable for the common people.

14. During the rainy season the Phoongyis go into retreat in their respective Khyoung ghars. During these

months they may not absent themselves for a night from the temple, and pass the day in prayer and meditation. On the expiry of the period a ceremony called "Thamantong" from the Magh "Thaman" Rice and "Tong" a hill is performed. At this ceremony cooked rice mixed with turmeric is heaped up in the shape of hills on a raised bamboo *machan*. All the villagers attend and the priest recites certain holy portions. Afterwards the crowd disperses, and general feasting follows. The sacrificial rice is abandoned to the birds of the air.

These 14 *pujis* can be celebrated individually as well as collectively, and *pujas* (5) to (12) can be performed conjointly in a line, but each deity must have his or her own circle, and a white thread must enclose the whole lot.

There are certain incantations used to drive away evil spirits.

For example, a piece of cotton is soaked in a small quantity of mustard oil, and then placed on a green leaf. *Mantras* (prayers or spells) are repeated over this some seven times, the celebrant blowing upon the leaf each time the *mantra* is finished. The *mantra* runs thus:—

"Ong teng lak, teng lak, Maga teng lak, teng lak srabo teng lak, teng lak a rang ong shoaga phoa." This is meaningless rubbish.

A drop or two of the oil is squeezed into the mouth of the person possessed with the evil spirit, and his body is anointed with the rest. Exit evil spirit.

The Buddhist priests are raised from amongst the tribe, and are called "phoongyis," but Brahmins are employed by the well-to-do for casting the family horoscope, by which is determined the exact time of a person's birth, the duration of life, and the probable circumstances, good or evil, of its career.

The dead are burned by the river bank, except in the case of a death from cholera or small-pox, when the corpse is buried. The death rites are as follow:—

The corpse is washed and dressed and laid out on a new bamboo bier, the relatives and villagers come and visit the body day and night, and a drum with a peculiar note (only used on such occasions) is beaten at intervals. There is no fixed time for keeping the body. When it is taken to the burning ghat, it is carried by four men, and the afternoon is selected for this purpose. At the funeral pyre a priest goes through some prayers and the pyre will then be lighted, first by the priest, then by the nearest blood relative, and finally all present will assist.

The corpse of a man is laid on five layers of wood with the head pointing to the east, while that of a woman is laid on seven layers of wood with the head to the west. When the corpse has been reduced to ashes the mourners go down to the water and after washing themselves return home. On this journey every precaution is taken to avoid glancing back; this is strictly forbidden after bathing, and a breach of this prohibition would entail the risk of very bad luck. The Chakmas have a proverb in connection with this part of the ceremony to the effect "Let the past bury its dead, and act in the living present." The following morning the burning-place is revisited, the calcined remnants of bone are collected and placed in an earthen pot and thrown into the river by the nearest blood relative. Amongst the wealthy a few pieces of bone may be preserved, and should occasion offer these will be thrown into the river Ganges. Mourning will be observed for six days, during which time no blood relation may touch fish or meat of any sort. On the seventh morning the burning place is again visited, and a complete meal with wine is laid out.

for the departed spirit. The place is enclosed with a fine bamboo fence, tall bamboos, with cloth streamers attached, are hoisted, and the priest if present goes through some prayers. The party then adjourn to the village and enjoy a sumptuous repast with generous libations of wine. The *sraddha* ceremony is observed for both sexes, and in the case of the wealthy is kept up for some years.

The Chakmas are very particular in their observation of the *sraddh* ceremony, and the members of one family to the most distant connections will assemble to hold a *sraddh* to the departed members of the family. On such an occasion a convenient gathering place is selected, and houses are erected to accommodate the members. Raolees and Phoongees are invited to attend, and they invoke the spirits of the departed members and recite verses from the Buddhist Scriptures which have to be written on palm leaves. They then prepare certain holy rice cakes for a ceremony on the following day. Early next morning many fowls and pigs are sacrificed, and the aid of Buddha is invoked. The priests then take the holy cakes and portions of the sacrificial meats to the common meeting place and further portions of the Scriptures are read. The Chakmas believe in the transmigration of souls, and occasionally it happens that one of the audience, it may be even an infant, will become senseless. The priests then produce the holy cakes and repeat all the names of the departed spirits, as soon as the name corresponding to the departed soul is mentioned, the person in the trance recovers, and is made to touch the holy cakes. A great feast follows this ceremony and alms are distributed amongst the poor.

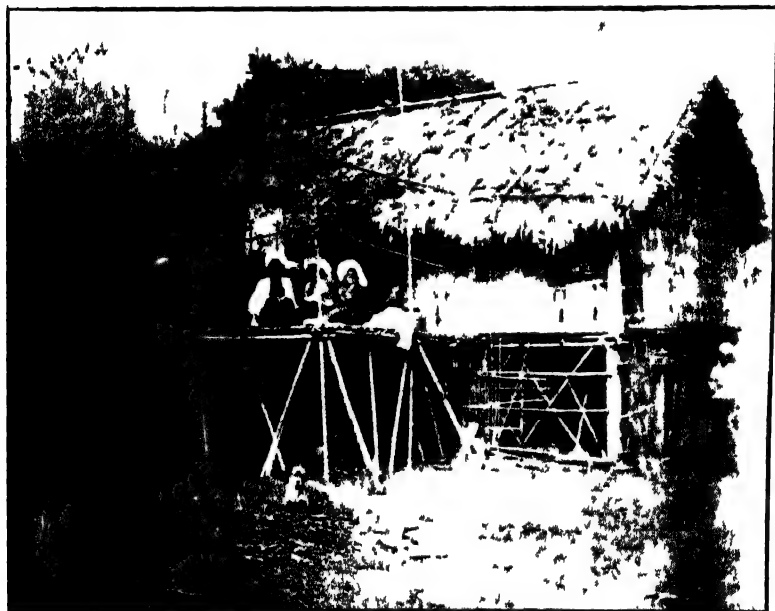
*Birth rites.* When a Chakma woman has been pregnant for five to seven months, the *puya* (2) or *gang*

*sala* is performed. During pregnancy the woman is allowed to eat anything she fancies, and special care is taken to carry out her wishes. When the child is born the husband brings a basketful of earth and spreads it near the bed and lights a fire on it; this fire is not allowed to go out for five days. After this the earth is thrown away, and the mother and child are bathed in water, to which some medicinal herbs have been added. The woman is impure for a whole month after childbirth, and is not allowed to cook during this period. Children are suckled to a considerable age by their mothers. A peculiarity of this tribe is that no woman will suckle another woman's child, even in the event of the mother being seriously ill. If a woman dies during pregnancy, her body is cut open and the foetus removed and buried, while the body of the woman is burnt. This practice exists also amongst the Maghs and Tipáras and is doubtless borrowed from the Hindus, amongst whom this hideous duty devolves on the husband, or failing him on a younger brother.

The Chakmas live in houses built entirely of bamboo with a *machan* (platform) floor raised some six feet above the ground. The house is divided within into compartments, and the requirements of the married members of the family are first attended to. In the event of several families living together, the rooms are apportioned in due order of seniority. For instance, in a family of which three of the members are married, the house will be divided by mat walls into four compartments. The outer one is reserved for the unmarried male members or for the use of visitors and is called *pinagudi*, the next compartment will go to the eldest male representative of the family with his wife, the third room to the second eldest, and the fourth to the

youngest married member. Each room averages fifteen feet in length, including the *ochaleng* or back verandah, which is about five feet. When laying out the compartments the house is divided breadthways, taking the centre or ridge pole of the house as the line of division on which to mark out the family quarters, which are to the back, while the front portion is partitioned off as the bachelors' quarters and cook-room. In the front of the house is a verandah which is divided into two with a mat partition for the use of the males and females respectively. In the front of the verandah is a big open space or raised *machan* used for various household purposes. Small compartments may be erected on this for the storage of grain, cotton, or household effects, but as a rule the grain is stored away from the house for safety in case of fire. A rough step-ladder gives access to this outer space and forms the entrance to the house. This space will generally be enclosed with a bamboo mat wall three or four feet high to prevent the small children from falling over. I have known of shocking accidents occurring where this precaution has been neglected. The back verandah of the house is also used for storage purposes, while the front is used to sit in and for the women to weave in. In construction a Chakma house is broader than it is long. This description of a Chakma house is applicable with slight modification to all hillmen's houses.

The Chakmas consider it very bad luck if vultures, kites, or owls settle on the roofs of their houses, and when this misfortune occurs, the owner of the house must speedily requisition the services of a priest and celebrate a *puja*. It is also considered very unlucky for a jackal or snake to cross anyone's path from right to left. If they do so, however, from the opposite direction it forebodes good luck.



SAMPLES OF JILT HOUSES





With the exception of that of the cow, all animal flesh is eaten, also fish and even reptiles. Wine is drunk, the *hookah* smoked, and *pán* chewed. The members of the tribe are all equal, and there are no caste distinctions.

## CHAPTER VIII.

**The Magh tribes--Census figures--History of race, derivation of name--Nature of the Race--Intellectual Attainments--Characteristics--Male and Female--Dress--Religion--Worship of Spirits--Marriage Succession--Death rites--Temples--Chief's rights and tribal gifts to Chief.**

THE tribe is scattered throughout the district, but the very great majority occupy the country to the south of the river Karnaphuli, and are under the Chiefship of the Bohmong, who has his head-quarters at Bandarban on the Sangu river.

The census of 1901 gives the total strength of the Maghs to be 34,756, of which 18,098 are returned as males and 16,608 females. The following table gives the actual distribution of the tribe according to sex in the three circles:—

		Males.	Females.
1. Bohmong Circle	...	11,080	10,699
2. Mong	„ ...	3,497	3,207
3. Chakma	„ ...	3,521	2,702
Total	...	18,098	16,608

The present Bohmong is known as Chalafnu Chowdhury, and the area of his circle is 2,064 square miles.

The following brief note concerning the origin and history of the Magh tribe has been compiled from certain records in the possession of the present Bohmong.

In 1599 A.D. the King of Burma sent two ambassadors, by name Kindonja and Tachaja, with numerous

presents to Manrajagiri, King of Arracan, requesting his aid in a war against the King of the province of Pegu. He also promised the King of Arracan further reward in the event of the expedition turning out successful. The assistance asked was readily given, and the joint forces proving victorious, the King of Burma rewarded the King of Arracan with 33,000 families of Talaiong subjects, together with the son and daughter of the vanquished King of Pegu. The Arracanese King married his fair young captive and changed her name from Shyanthoo Yenong to Choomangee.

The captives appear to have grown in favour, for in 1614 the King of Arracan deputed his brother-in-law to govern the district of Chittagong.

After three successions Hario, the son of Angunya, became Governor of Chittagong. In 1710 he met Ujia, the King of Arracan, who came on an expedition to the west of Chittagong. Ujia conferred on Hario the title of Bohmongri.

Bohmong Hario was succeeded by a grandson named Konglafru, his own son, Sadafru, having died during the lifetime of Hario.

Bohmong Konglafru being harassed by the Moguls was forced to take refuge at the court of Arracan in 1756.

In 1774 Bohmong Konglafru learning that the British were establishing themselves at Chittagong, returned to the district and lived in various places to the south of the district of Chittagong, namely, at Ramoo, Bomoo, Edghar, Eongsa, Matamuri and Lama, finally settling at Maxikhal on the Sungu river in 1804.

In August 1813 a free-booter by name Khyanbrai, a resident of Arracan, with a band of 200 desperadoes

committed great ravages in the surrounding country, so much so that the residents fled away from their homes. Bohmong Konglafu had six sons, of whom the eldest, Sathanfru, collected a force of 400 men and utterly routed Khyangbrai and his gang of freebooters, driving them forth from the country. Sathanfru succeeded to the Bohmongship in 1819, and in 1822 removed his residence to Bandarban, a little above Maxikhal on the river Sangu. In 1823 Sathanfru defeated the Bunjogi Chief Rang Chooloom. There is a record to the effect that in February 1828 the country-side was devastated by the depredations of a huge man-eating tiger, whose footprint was one and-a-half cubit in diameter. This brute was never killed, but disappeared as mysteriously as it had arrived. Sathanfru died in 1840, and his body according to custom was placed in a coffin preparatory to being burnt. In the meantime a terrible rainfall brought on a great flood, which completely inundated Bandarban and forced the people to take refuge in the adjoining hills. The coffin was carried away by the flood and curiously enough was washed up near the village burning ghat of his former residence at Maxikhal. The body was finally burnt there on the same site where his wife's body had been burnt. In October 1840 Konglanya became Bohmong, but finding himself unequal to the task of management he resigned the Bohmongship to his cousin Momfru. In 1871 Momfru assisted the British in an expedition against the Lushais, who were then settled on the Karnaphuli river at Barkhal. In November 1875 Momfru was succeeded by Sanaio, his youngest brother.

During the Lushai Expedition of 1889-90, Sanaio Bohmong rendered great assistance to the British Government by the supply of coolies for transport purposes. He received in recognition the Burmese title of

“Kyet they zang sheweya salway yamin” (the King who wears the golden thread), and was also presented by Government with a massive gold chain. Sanaio died on the 3rd March 1902 and was succeeded by his nephew Cuolafu, the present Bohmong.

The name Magh is “the popular designation of an Indo-Chinese tribe who describe themselves by the various titles of Maramagri, Bhuya Magh, Burma Magh, Jumiya Magh” (see Risley’s “Tribes and Castes of Bengal”). It is with the Jumiya Magh that we are concerned in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

The term “Magh” has become a general designation of the people who inhabit a particular tract of country. The accepted idea amongst Maghs is that the name is derived from ancestors who lived in Magadha, the country now known as Berar, but I feel certain that they have simply assimilated the folklore of the Chakma tribe. There is no doubt that they now occupy the country originally occupied by the Chakmas, and they doubtless in olden times made common cause against the wild hill dwellers. The Maghs are, without doubt, Mongolian.

When questioned as to his race the first reply will be Magh; on being pressed to particularise, he will specify Burma Magh, Bhuiya Magh, Rigraysa Magh, or Arracan Magh. The term “Marama” is a corruption of Burma, as pronounced by the Jumiya Magh.

*The Jumiya Magh.*—The sub-divisions of the tribe are Marama, or those who come from Burma, and Khyungsa, or river people, so called as the Magh always lives in the valleys on the bank of a river or stream. The tribe is divided into a number of septs, the most important of which will be found in the Appendix. A sept is named after a profession, a residence on hill or river, or any peculiarity that may have distinguished the common ancestor. A Magh, if well-to-

do, is extremely indolent, and will only do such work as he is compelled to. Given a sufficient number of cheroots to smoke, and a comfortable spot on which to recline, he is quite content to laze away the whole day. With the poorer class the case is, however, different; for though the same tendency exists in them it has little time for development. To secure a bare livelihood he must devote the greater portion of the year to work of a most arduous nature, and this, too, under most unfavourable circumstances, especially during the exceedingly inclement rainy season. He can, however, be trusted not to do a stroke of work more than the necessities of his family life require.

The Magh is a happy-go-lucky fellow, easily pleased and of a most independent nature. There is no cringing about him, and he is quite prepared to render respect where such is due. Though addicted to drink and taking opium, he is not in any way a debased specimen of manhood. A Magh has extremely deficient powers of memory. You may hammer away at a subject for hours together, and finally believe that he has grasped your meaning; but you will find your belief to be very short-lived, for in a brief space of time he will have quite forgotten even the subject of all you may have told him. You may rate him for his stupidity, but he will smile on you blandly and acknowledge that he is the "veriest of fools," and "why should your honour waste so much trouble" on him. He has a ready wit, a full appreciation of humour, and can pay a pretty compliment with the best. He is also of a poetical nature and can turn out crisp lines, full of local colour and apt rhyme. He has a child's love for anything bright—especially flowers: and they occupy a very important position in his devotions and love passages. In the matter of dress his tastes are simple. He will wear a



MACH CHIS



A GROUP OF PANDARPUR MAGIS WITH BOHMONG IN CENTRE





turban of white cloth, which he adjusts in a way peculiar to himself, a white or black short jacket with long loose sleeves, buttoned or tied at the neck, and a cloth of some sort of soft cotton material reaching from the waist to below the knee. This cloth among the well-to-do will be of silk, coloured in extremely pretty tartans, and is called a *lungi*. These *lungis* are most delightfully cool and comfortable for night wear in the hot weather. Shoes are rarely worn, save amongst those of high social position.

The Magh girl is a most fascinating little body, possessing generally a very pleasing face. She dresses very neatly at all times, but is particularly bright on festive occasions. The hair is taken up from behind and dressed in a knot on the top of the head; into this knot are thrust silver combs and hairpins, while a bright flower will generally be placed coquettishly on one side. On state occasions a coloured silk handkerchief will be bound carelessly round the head. The neck and shoulders are exposed, and a well worked and ornamented homespun cloth about ten inches in width is wound tightly round the bosom. They wear a petticoat of cotton or silk. This is without tie or fastening, but is brought round the waist, with the edges well twisted in, and kept on by the graceful curve of the hips. These two simple garments complete her every day attire, and in spite of its quiet simplicity she always appears well dressed. For ornaments they wear gold or silver bracelets and necklaces, and hollow cones of silver through the lobe of the ear. This is a favourite place to wear flowers or carry a spare cheroot, for the women are as inveterate smokers as the men.

If we judge them by our ideas, the standard of morality among them is low. A chaste maiden life is a very rare exception, and no sense of shame or wrong is

ever attached to the lives that these young girls live. But whatever her faults may have been as a maiden, when she is married chastity is the rule, and it is rare to hear of an unfaithful wife. The Magh woman has the maternal instinct very strongly developed, and is passionately fond of her children. This fondness is common to both sexes and leads to the children being terribly spoiled; indeed, they early pass entirely beyond parental control. From marriage onwards the life of the average Magh woman is one of constant toil and self-denial, and she will only find rest in death. In addition to her many and varied household cares and the duties and anxieties of maternity, she will have to work through all weathers in the field, sowing, weeding, harvesting, fetching and carrying for her indolent husband, and devoting any spare time she may snatch to weaving cloths for home use. As she gets older and less comely, her duties become more arduous till, finally, at old age she is systematically neglected, and the rising generation take no trouble to conceal the fact that they consider her continued presence in the family circle a nuisance. The end comes at last, and she is hurried away to the burning-ghât, where an extra couple of layers of wood are supplied to the funeral pyre in recognition of her position as the general provider for the family. The old of both sexes are treated with scant respect; indeed, are much neglected, and are considered as useless encumbrances.

The religion of the Magh is Buddhism, but it is much mixed up with Animism, and he propitiates a great variety of malevolent and evil spirits which are credited with the power of influencing his life and actions. There is in the Magh a great depth of religious sentiment, and you will never find him joke on such matters or make any irreverent allusion to his priests.

It is to be regretted that the principles of Teetotalism, as prescribed by the great Sage Buddha, finds little favour with the Magh, who is addicted to the use of opium and to excess in drinking.

The following are some of the principal deities and spirits to whom *puja* has to be made at stated times:—

(1) *Chung-Mong-ley*.—The household deity is worshipped at the time of marriage, at the birth of children, or if a new house has been erected. The *puja* takes place within the house.

(2) *Ing-nek*, also a household deity, but in his case the *puja* is celebrated on the platform outside the house; a bamboo altar is erected on the platform and this has a cloth covering stretched over it. The offerings consist of curds, rice and fruit, while goats, fowls and pigeons are also sacrificed. This *puja* has to be celebrated once a year to secure the general welfare of the household.

(3) *A-boma-kirey* is celebrated in the *jūms* to secure a good harvest. An altar of bamboo, some eighteen inches in width and two feet in height, is erected in the *jūm*. Fruits, grains and wine are placed on this, and a fowl is sacrificed.

(4) *Khyoungshang*, the goddess of water. This goddess is invoked to keep away sickness from the family. An altar is erected in the water, and sacrifices made as usual of goats, fowls and pigeons.

In the month of July the whole village community celebrates a *puja* to twelve spirits, including those already mentioned. This is the principal *puja* of the year. A space is cleared near running water, and twelve circles are marked out with white yarn. Each circle is devoted to a special spirit, gifts of wine, fruits, grains, eggs, &c., are placed in each circle, and buffalo, goats and fowls are sacrificed in numbers. This is

celebrated for the general welfare of the community, and terminates in general feasting and rejoicing.

(5) *Rig-nar*, the goddess of cholera. This scourge is terribly dreaded by the Maghs, and when a case occurs in a village immediate steps are taken to propitiate the goddess. Prayers are written on strips of paper and on cloth streamers, and these are hung up at each corner of the village. A cotton thread is run right round the village on the outside, and for four days no outsider may enter within it. A villager may go out to his daily task, but must return at nightfall. During these four days of segregation nothing can be slaughtered, nor is it permissible to introduce any flesh from outside. Those going to bathe must not take off any of their clothes, but enter the water as they are, and only change their raiment after the bath. In fact on these occasions the people try to follow the tenets of Buddhism by leading a clean and simple life. The Maghs have settled villages, which have been occupied from generation to generation, though during the *jūming* season they have to wander afar to seek suitable lands to cultivate. Once the harvesting is over, they will return to their villages for the slack months, which are November, December and January. The Bohmong's head-quarter village of Bandarban has occupied its present site for over eighty years.

It is open to all except the lowest castes, such as "Dome," or fishermen, and mehters or sweepers, to gain admission to the tribe, and the procedure is similar to that in force among the Chakmas, or, as a matter of fact, as is common to all Buddhist converts.

*Marriage.*—Marriage is practically adult, though cases occur, amongst the higher classes, of a marriage before the age of puberty is reached; but such marriages are exceedingly rare. As a rule the girl marries about

the age of sixteen, and those men who can afford it will marry before reaching the age of twenty.

The marriage ceremony among the higher ranks of the people is as follows:—

The girl having been selected, a relation or friend of the bridegroom is sent to her parents to broach the subject of marriage. If they approve, fresh intermediaries are sent, but they must go in odd numbers—one, three, five or seven. They must be males, either married or single, but neither a widower nor one who has married a widow. They take a bottle of liquor with them and, after a discussion, another date is fixed for meeting. This time the intermediaries appear with some cooked yams and *sukti*, or dried fish, and boiled fowl, which must have met its death by strangulation. A day is now fixed on which both parties must dream over the coming auspicious event. On dream-day the intending bride and bridegroom, after bathing and prayer, retire to rest in the hope that auspicious dreams for the future may be their respective lot. In the event of the future bride not having reached a mature age, the dreaming must be done by proxy—that is, by her mother, or the nearest female blood relation. The following are some of the auspicious signs:—To dream of anything white, of flowers, of climbing trees or mountains, or of crossing a river or stream; while it is unlucky to dream of broken *khalsis* or water-pots, of anything red in colour, or of weeping persons. At the dawn of the following day the relations collect at the respective homes to hear the dreams and to interpret them as favourably as possible. A few days before the ceremony the father of the bride will give a list of all his relatives residing in the village to the bridegroom's father or guardian. The latter is then required to send to the house of each person named in the list a

cooked fowl, a bottle of liquor and a rupee. Formerly the rupee was given as a present; but now-a-days, it has to be returned, and to avoid any possible mistake only one rupee is sent forth to go the round of the relatives, thus materially lessening the marriage expenditure. Two days before the marriage a pig and five fowls are sacrificed in the afternoon to propitiate "Chung-mong-ley," the household deity. That evening new clothes are presented to the bride and bridegroom, and these have been selected with the aid of astrology in order that choice of colour may accord with the significance attached to the birthday of the contracting parties. A priest, or "Thang-pora," attends the bridegroom at this robing ceremony. When that is finished guns are fired, fireworks are let off, feasting and drinking commence, and the night is turned into a regular saturnalia.

The bridegroom dons the *magay*, an erection made of sola-pith in shape like a Pagoda and ornamented with tinsel and colored-paper, and presides in a more or less maudlin state of intoxication over the festivities in his house. In the meantime the unmarried lads of the village have prepared a booth outside the bride's house. This has to be finished within a day, and the workers are entitled to a good meal from the bride's house for their trouble. The marriage day at last approaches, and the bridegroom, seated on an ornamented stretcher with a friend or groomsman on either side, is carried by sixteen bearers to the bride's house and deposited at the booth. Here the bridegroom and his groomsmen take their seats, and spend the afternoon in exchanging toasts with all the relatives of the bride. During the night the bridegroom and groomsmen resume their places on the stretcher, and are carried round to all the houses in the village, and the

bridegroom, who has to accept of their hospitality, returns much the worse for drink to his own house. Next morning he is again carried to the booth, where a couple of hours have to be spent in meditation—otherwise an attempt to regain sobriety—and then with his party he approaches the steps leading to the bride's house. The father or nearest male relative will oppose his advance, and make a feigned effort to prevent him ascending the steps; but the bridegroom courageously perseveres and is again met by the bride's brother or first cousin, who throws himself into the breach and with a small stick makes valiant pretence of striking the bridegroom seven times. But it is useless: the brave bridegroom, not to be repulsed, secures his position, and the brother, making the best of necessity, gives him a helping hand and pulls him on to the platform which stands outside the house. On this platform a mat has been spread, and on the mat some forty pounds of paddy or unhusked rice has been piled, flanked on either side with an earthen pot filled with water and having flowers and leaves inside each. The bridegroom is made to stand near the heap of paddy, while his chief groomsman enters the house. He soon reappears carrying the blushing bride struggling in his arms, and places her to the left of the bridegroom. An old man now steps forward and sprinkles the couple five or seven times with water taken from the water-pots, while the groomsman links the right hand little finger of the bridegroom with the corresponding left hand finger of the bride. Then, with their little fingers still linked, they are escorted into the house and seated on cushions. Here the old man, after sprinkling more water on the linked hands, gently separates them. The couple are now presented with food served on separate earthen

food it is emptied into one plate, and out of this they both eat. When the meal is finished they rise and together make obeisance, first to the parents of the bride and then to the parents of the bridegroom. After this a small quantity of parched rice is set in front of them, and the bridegroom taking a few grains will place some on the bride's head and also on his own. The relatives of the happy couple now press forward, congratulate them and make various offerings. The feasting then becomes general, and a very large quantity of liquor is consumed. The unfortunate bridegroom is the butt of jests from the female friends of the bride, while his male acquaintances do not neglect to offer him all manner of advice as to how to comport himself in his married state. Between seven and eight in the evening the young couple manage to make their escape and retire to the bridegroom's house, and the marriage is consummated. Any food that may be left over after the young couple have finished their meal is carefully preserved and on the next morning is taken forth and buried amidst loud shouting and beating of drums. The paddy used in the initial stages of the ceremony has to be carefully preserved and must be sown in the first *jūm*, or cultivation, made by the young married couple. I witnessed a marriage of a relative of the late Bohmong, and the above is an accurate description of the ceremony.

*Division of property.*—In ordinary cases the succession goes to the eldest son, and in a division of property where there are several sons, one-half goes to the eldest son, one-quarter to the youngest son, and any other sons share the remaining quarter among them. If there are only two sons the elder would receive five-eighths of the estate, and three-eighths would fall to the younger.



The above arrangements only hold good where the parent has made no assignment of his property during his lifetime. Any division he may thus make would be respected and considered binding on his heirs. In the event of there being no direct male heirs, the succession follows in the female line. The succession to the tribal chiefship, or Bohmong, is the next eldest male blood relative, and does not follow in the direct line.

*Funeral rites.*—The Maghs burn their dead at a common burning-place called the burning-ghât. The dead body is placed on the funeral pyre with its head to the north. A man is placed on three layers of wood and a woman on five layers, the extra layers being bestowed as a compliment to the sex who, during their lifetime, have attended to all the household duties.

In the event of death being due to cholera or small-pox, the body will be buried in the neighbourhood of the burning-ground, and in the case of the well-to-do the remains are disinterred on the cessation of the outbreak, or after a month or two, and are then burned.

I was present during the obsequies of the late Bohmong Sanaio last year, and as the ceremonies observed are full of interest I will describe them in detail.

The dead body is washed by old people of the same sex as the corpse. It is then dressed in new clothes and laid out on the floor in the centre of the house. A bamboo bed is made and the body is placed upon it, while a priest recites certain prayers. At the moment when the corpse is laid upon this bed a gun is fired, or a bomb exploded, to intimate that the person is indeed dead. A coffin is prepared in the meantime, and when ready the body is placed within it and put back on the bed. A grandly ornamented funeral car is prepared, and on the top hovers a huge bird made

of bamboo frame work and covered with colored paper. This bird is called *hathi linga*, or elephant bird. At the appointed time the coffin is placed on the car under the bird, and is dragged by willing hands to the site of the funeral pyre erected at the common burning-ground. The priests in their saffron-coloured robes head the procession, and the mourners follow with bared heads, to the accompaniment of much drum beating. Before the coffin is removed to the funeral pyre four very stout and long ropes, made out of bamboo, are attached, two in front and two at the back of the car. At a given signal the crowd rushes forward and seizes the ropes and pulls violently in opposite directions—a veritable tug-of-war. This is a very exciting time. The car sways backwards and forwards, the *hathi linga* plunges up and down like a small boat in a heavy swell at sea, and it appears as though the coffin must be hurled into the midst of the excited crowd. Finally one side is victorious and triumphantly drags away the car, but this is generally arranged for by keeping a reserve of men belonging to the deceased's own sept, and these men, by pre-arrangement, join one side and assure to it the victory. This violent exercise is supposed to be symbolical of the struggle of the evil spirits for the possession of the soul, but finally the spirit of the *hathi linga* flies away with it to some sacred spot in the distant Himalaya Range. The tradition asserts that, in old days, a huge bird actually descended and removed the corpse itself, and flew away with it to the abode of peace in the Himalayas. The coffin is finally placed on the pyre, when the lid is slightly opened and a portion of the head cloth is drawn out and allowed to fall to the ground, the priest recites more prayers, and then the nearest blood relation sets fire to the pyre. Simultaneously the mourners light hundreds of miniature

torches, made of pieces of cloth soaked in oil and attached to slips of bamboo. These have been stuck into the soft stems of plantain trees, which have been placed in the ground round the funeral pyre; these torches burn brightly for a few seconds and then flicker out, doubtless symbolical of the brief span of the light of life. Long streamers of white muslin, cut in curious lace-like patterns and attached to long bamboos, are also hoisted near the spot. As soon as the pyre is lighted, the priests remove themselves to a shelter prepared in the neighbourhood of the burning-place, and the mourners resume their head-gear. The head priest recites more prayers and the chief mourners, kneeling before him, give the responses. They then make offerings according to their means, and light refreshments in the way of betelnut are handed round amongst the crowd. Shortly after the priests remove themselves and the crowd slowly breaks up, leaving the all-devouring flames to work their will on the poor clay. The following morning water is poured on the hot ashes and any calcined fragments of bone that may remain are collected and placed in a new earthen vessel and thrown into the river. In the event of a death occurring on the last day of the month or on one of the festival dates, the body must be burnt on that very day. As a general rule, however, the body is kept for seven days in the house. In Bohmong Sanaio's case it was kept for six weeks. He was a big man, yet there was not the slightest disagreeable odour noticeable in the room. The coffin was very large, and at the bottom was placed first a quantity of powdered charcoal, then several layers of dried tobacco leaves, and finally the corpse (into the mouth, ears and nostrils of which some ten pounds of quicksilver had been poured to destroy the inner tissues) wrapped up carefully in the bedding of

the deceased. The coffin was fastened down and the edges closed with a sort of resin. It was then covered with coloured paper, with designs worked upon it in gold and silver tinsel. Six maunds, the equivalent of 480 lbs., of sandal wood were placed amongst the fuel that made up the funeral pyre, and also several pounds of sweet-smelling guma, and of ghee or clarified butter.

For seven days after the burning of the body a light is placed at sunset on the spot where the deceased breathed his last, and also on the spot where the coffin rested in the centre of the house. Each day that the coffin remains in the house a brass *lota*, or pot of water is placed near it in the early morning for the spirit to rinse out the mouth, while in the afternoon, at 2 o'clock, a full meal is supplied.

Among the poorer classes the coffin is dispensed with. The body, wrapped in clean clothes, is burned a day or so after death, and very little ceremony is observed.

Bandarban possesses a very fine *khyong ghar*, or temple, erected some ten years ago by the late Bohmong Sanaio. This building is well worthy of a somewhat minute description.

The temple is built facing north and south, with a single entrance in the centre of the north face. It has a length of one hundred and ten feet with a breadth of sixty-five feet, and the highest point is sixty feet from the ground level. The building is of wood with corrugated iron sheeting for the roof. It is supported by enormous round jarool-wood posts having an average girth of seven feet. Of these there are twelve lines with nine posts in each line, all sunk eight feet in the ground. It can be imagined what a colossal task it must have been to convey these posts to the site and place them in position. Thousands of hillmen were



THE KHYONG GHAR, TANDARIAN





IV. F. SCH. 1



III. PAGODA, BANDARBAN





impressed for the work. The floor is of planks and is raised eight feet from the ground, while a flight of masonry steps leads to a big platform in front of the entrance. Within the building, to the west, is another platform raised some eighteen inches high and occupying a space about thirty feet square. On this platform are arranged several shrines. The one in the centre, a gorgeous erection of gilt and imitation stones, holds the principal idol, while the seven or eight other shrines are all crowded with images of Buddha. These are of all sizes, from a huge *papier-mâché* one, some five feet in height, covered with gilt, to little silver representations two or three inches high. The principal image is about fifteen inches in height, and is a most beautiful piece of workmanship. It appears to be made of a mixture of silver and brass, but it is reputed to be a mixture of all the precious metals, together with pounded precious stones. Its origin is completely lost in antiquity: in fact, it is generally believed to have a supernatural origin. The idol faces the east. Above it are suspended a big red cloth canopy and three big umbrellas with fine silk linings. The humbler shrines are shaded by ordinary paper umbrellas and paper canopies. From the summit of the roof hang four coloured streamers of cloths, forty feet in length, also a long white banner. In front of the shrines is a long low zinc-covered table, on which are placed *pân* and cheroots and a water caraffe for the use of the images, while a midday meal is served daily. A heterogeneous collection of incongruous rubbish is also scattered about the table, such as paper, flowers in broken vases, cheap glass ornaments, and old lamps, while in front of the platform are suspended the coloured globes used for ornamenting Christmas trees, and other tawdry articles. There are also some fine-toned bells and gongs which are struck at intervals, and give an

very melodious notes. This is the signal for a general lighting up of the interior, and on festive occasions thousands of little candles are lighted and stuck on the table by the devotees. To the left of the platform is a fine offering of first fruits consisting of paddy in the ear, cotton and maize cobs. These are kept to be replaced by the next harvest's produce.

A space is reserved to the right of the platform for the head Phungyi, or High Priest. The holy man sleeps here, surrounded by the other Phungyis. The former High Priest, Phungyi Chemla Meju, died last September at the age of seventy. His body lies in a highly ornamented coffin in a house near the Khyong Ghar, and will not be burnt till next April. He has been succeeded by Phungyi Uacherra of Kemalong, a village six miles below Bandarban. He has been elected by popular acclamation, but he will not succeed to his full honours until the late priest has been duly cremated. The youths of the village receive religious education in Burmese from the Phungyis within the precincts of the temple. These schools are wonderfully well attended, and the youngsters treat their preceptors with every respect. The priests are entirely supported by the community, cooked meals being brought daily to the temple. In the neighbourhood of the temple there are some very fine specimens of banyan trees.

*Chief's rights.*—The Bohmong has, according to tribal custom, the right of enforcing the following taxes and demanding *begar*, or free labour, from his subjects. The people belonging to the Rigraysa sept, of which he is the head, consider themselves to be the most important of all the septs. Each family belonging to this sept

House-tax.	pays an annual house-tax of Rs. 5,
	while the members of the other septs,
and also the various tribes residing in the circle, pay	

Rs. 4 per house. The Roajas or Karbaris, who are managers or selected representatives of a village community, are exempted from paying any house-tax, as are also the very aged and infirm who are physically incapacitated from following the usual vocations of life.

On an occasion of marriage in the Bohmong's family the residents of Bandarban, which is the Bohmong's own village, have to supply a bundle of fuel and from six to ten bottles of liquor per house, in addition to giving free service in the assistance of cooking for, and waiting on, the guests.

The rest of the Rigraysa sept, wherever residing, have to supply rice at the rate of sixteen pounds for every ten rupees of assessed rent—that is, a village which is taxed at fifty rupees would have to supply eighty pounds of rice—in addition to a certain quantity of chillies and whatever other vegetables may then be in season. The villages belonging to the other septs are exempted from this contribution, but a contribution of eight annas per house is levied towards the expenses incurred. When the Bohmong or his representative

visits their village, they have to provide rice at the same rate, and also present fowls and liquor.

At the death of a Bohmong, as also at the death of the High Priest of the circle, every village has to supply free labour, and there is no limit placed on this demand. The only condition is that not more than a quarter of the adult male strength of the village may be requisitioned at one time, but this proportion has to be maintained for such time as the labour may be required.

At the annual *purna*, or rent day, each village representative, on paying the dues of his community, has, in addition, to

present a *nasar* or gift of homage. This amount varies between two and five per cent. of the house-tax of the village.

When a temple or a house for any of the ruling family is to be built, each village has to supply bamboos at the rate of from five to twenty per house, and of wooden posts one to three according to the size of the village, or else make a cash payment in lieu of these articles.

Gifts of build-  
ing material.

The Regrayasa sept will also make an annual present of rice, cotton and vegetables, that is, about two pounds of each per house; while the other Annual gifts. septs and tribes will give more.

To facilitate collections the Bohmong has divided his circle into four mahals, or divisions:—

- |               |  |                    |
|---------------|--|--------------------|
| 1. Regrayasa. |  | 3. Khas Mahal.     |
| 2. Ruma Mahal |  | 4. Matamuri Mahal. |

The Khas Mahal is under his personal supervision, while the others are administered by deputies. Each person appearing before the Bohmong in connection with any civil or criminal case or dispute has to pay one rupee.

## CHAPTER IX.

**Kuki tribes—Derivation of name—Lushai and derivation—Physique—Dress, male and female—Peculiarities of headgear and ornaments—Marriage—Birth ceremonies—Position of Chief and Karbari Chief's house a refuge—Slavery—Widow re-marriage—Divorce—Succession Festivals or Pujas—Death rites—Superstitions—Kukis as they were 100 years ago.**

THE word "Kuki" is merely a generic term coined by the plainsmen in the remote past to designate all the inhabitants of the Chittagong Hill Tracts other than those belonging to the Chakma, Magh and Tipára tribes. In more recent years it has signified the independent tribes residing in the hills beyond the North-East Frontier of Bengal, now subjugated and forming a part of British India under the name of the Lushai and Chin Hills. At the present day the inhabitants of these hills, though in reality divided into several tribes or clans, each with its own dialect, are known officially as Lushais and Chins.

I attribute the derivation of the word Kuki to the habit the tribes have of using the terms Koo Koo Koo, Ki Ki Ki as interrogatives. If questioned about any thing or place they frequently reply, Koo Koo, what! that there! Ki Ki, what! this here!

The name Lushai is only another name for one of the numerous Kuki clans, which is more commonly known amongst themselves as Duien. Some of the other clans are Howlong, Fannai or Moliempui Ralte, Paithe, Mhar, Sailo and Lakher.

The official spelling is Lushai, and the word has been the subject of much controversy among frontier officers as to its derivation.

Captain Lewin, the pioneer of the Hill Tracts, who accompanied the Lushai Expedition of 1870 as Political Officer, derived it from "Lu," the Kuki word for head, and the root "Sha" of a verb meaning to cut, and great weight attaches to his authority. Major Shakespear, D.S.O., C.I.E., Superintendent of the Lushai Hills, believed that the derivation was "Lu," a head, and the adjective "Shei," meaning long, because the Lushai clan bind their hair in a knot at the back of the head, while the Fannai bind theirs in a knot on the top of the head. I cannot think that this derivation can be accepted, as the majority of the clans bind their hair at the back of the head.

The Sailu clan, commonly pronounced Syloo, but in reality Sailô, is I believe responsible for the derivation of the word. "Sai" in Kuki means an elephant, and "lo" is the equivalent for a *jūm* or hillside cultivation. The Kukis convey their idea of greatness by comparison, and as the elephant is the largest animal they fix on him to denote greatness. In other words, the meaning of Sailô is the people with the great *jūms*. This is actually borne out by facts, for the country between Barkhal, on the Karnaphuli river, and the source of the same river formerly occupied by this clan, has to the present day a very great reputation for the excellence of its *jūming* lands. This is owing to the prolific growth of bamboo and plantain jungle, the species of forest best suited for this particular method of cultivation.

The principal range in this part of the country is known as Sai-Chal. Now this word conveys no meaning in Lushai, but is easily explained as a corrupt

compound word. The Kuki "sai," an elephant, and the Bengali root "chal" of a verb meaning to go, literally the elephant walk, or haunt of the elephant, who is particularly fond of bamboo and plantain diet. Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I., when Chief Commissioner of Assam, thought the theory that the word Lushai was but a rearrangement of the syllables of the word Saila very plausible. I am inclined to go further and say that this is so.

The Kukis are a race of medium stature. I should place the average height at five feet six inches. They have Mongolian features, the eyes set wide apart, a high forehead, broad nostrils, long upper lip and high cheek-bones. The Kukis pull out the hairs of the moustache, with the exception of a few at the corner of the mouth. They wear no beard, and are of fair complexion.

They wear the hair of the head long, and while young take particular pride in dressing it neatly, and ornamenting it with ivory mounted combs, carved ivory bone or metal skewers, and heavy brass hairpins. There is a very great diversity of fashion in dressing the hair among the clans, and one can generally tell the clan to which a man belongs by the style he adopts in dressing his hair. For instance, a man of the How-long tribe will comb his hair back, with the parting in the centre, and wear it tied in a knot at the back of the head. A Fannai will collect most of the hair and dress it in a very neat coil on the top of his head, allowing a portion of the hair to hang loose down the back. The Lakher will, on the other hand, comb his hair up and tie it in a knot above the forehead, and so on. The young Kuki brave will grease his hair plentifully with bear's or pigs' fat, and will take the greatest pains in giving it a good gloss and dressing it neatly. His

favourite pastime is to laze away an afternoon stretched at full length on the platform outside the house, with his head resting in the lap of his sweetheart, while she combs out and cleans his head (for they are infested with lice).

The Kuki is a man of fine muscular development, and has astonishing powers of endurance. He will cover in one day what an ordinary man will take three or four days to march. The Kuki woman is of short stature, with a squat figure and possessing little in the way of looks to commend her. She wears the hair parted in the centre, combed back and tied in a loose knot at the back of the head. There is but this one style of dressing the hair among the women. Her costume consists of a white coat of coarse homespun, and an extremely short petticoat which barely reaches the knees; in addition she uses a body cloth to wrap round her.

A man wears a white turban on the head, and this he dresses according to the fashion then prevailing among his tribe. Ordinarily it is worn closely wrapped round the head, but some tribes dress it round the knot at the top of the head, leaning over towards the forehead. A tight-fitting homespun coat, somewhat after the fashion of a mess-jacket, fastened at the neck, and a body-cloth or sheet of white homespun, which they drape round the body or gather round the waist, complete his costume. No particular attention is shown by them to the demands of decency in the matter of clothing. The cloths of the Chiefs and more important persons are woven in colours, and are exceedingly handsome. They are generally made in stripes of various breadths, the predominant colors being green, yellow and red on a dark blue ground. Very great ingenuity is shown in working out elaborate patterns, either in zig-zags or straight across the cloth.



With our occupation of the country and the spread of civilisation the love of novelty has asserted itself, and the noble savage Chieftain may be seen wending his way over the mountains wearing a battered white Ellwood's sun-hat, a filthy flannel shirt, a pair of old dress trousers, ammunition boots well down at the heel, with a flaring "Como" silk rug, (a present from the Political Officer) thrown across his shoulders, and the ubiquitous eight-anna bazaar umbrella held over his head. Ichabod! Ichabod!! The Kukis as a race are easily pleased, and they will enjoy a joke, even at their own expense. They are very imitative, quick in understanding and possess a retentive memory. They are also hospitable and generous: but this exhausts their virtues, and their vices are many. They are vicious and coarse-minded to a degree, their minds run constantly on lewd and bestial subjects, and the coarser and more degraded these may be the better are they pleased. They possess not a shred of morality, and are treacherous and untruthful by nature. They are also very indolent, and will only lay hands to such tasks as are absolutely necessary. Everything else is left to their unfortunate women, while they spend their time in smoking, drinking and generally loafing. Their Chiefs also lead a dissolute drunken life—in fact, to get royally drunk constitutes the greatest idea of happiness amongst the whole race.

The woman, on the contrary, leads a life of excessive hardship and exposure. As a young girl, she takes a certain amount of pride in her personal appearance and manages to make herself fairly presentable. She is also fairly modest; but once married she finds her household duties and maternal cares too much for her, and speedily neglects the rudiments of cleanliness and modesty. She is, by force of circumstances, extremely industrious, and

is, I am glad to say, a kind and indulgent mother; in fact, affection for their children is a trait common to both sexes, and goes a long way to lessen the loathing their other numerous shortcomings excite. Owing to her hard life the Kuki woman ages very rapidly, and becomes an unsightly object while yet young. In old age she is a veritable hag, truly repulsive in her awful hideousness.

Both men and women set great store on the possession of amber beads, which are of different shapes and sizes from small circular ones to oval-shaped beads two to three inches in length and three-quarters of an inch, or more, in diameter. These beads are worn as necklaces. A man wears his close round the neck, while that of the woman reaches to the waist. The amber is of a dark colour, due I think to its being constantly exposed to smoke. It originally came from Burma, and is reputed to be of great antiquity. An entirely fictitious value is, however, placed on these beads, and they are generally included in the marriage price of well-to-do girls.

The women also wear necklaces of coloured beads, and they have a hideous habit of piercing and distending the lobe of the ear until they can insert a circular disc from two to three inches in diameter and three-quarters of an inch in thickness. These discs are fashioned of ivory, wood, or even a species of soapstone. They also wear brass girdles at the waist, and ornament the hair with heavy brass hairpins. A man will wear a tuft of goat's hair as a charm tied to a string round his neck. He will also indulge in necklaces made of shirt buttons, and small cornelians attached to a piece of string as earrings. Both sexes from infancy smoke continuously. The men use a pipe with the bowl fashioned from the root of a bamboo, with a long bamboo stem, very

similar to our long cherry-wood pipes. He will ornament the bowl with delicate tracery work, and invariably set a pice-piece outside at the bottom of the bowl.

The women use a peculiar shaped pipe on the principle of the *hookah*. It is a bamboo root hollowed out, having a clay bowl mounted over it and a thin metal tube to draw the smoke through. As they are continuously smoking, the moisture settles at the bottom of the bamboo root. This liquid is carefully removed and stored in a small hollowed-out gourd, and is looked upon as a very delicate "pick-me-up." To be presented with one of these to sip is a mark of the very greatest respect and friendship. A firm but courteous refusal is, however, advisable.

Marriage is, as a rule, confined within the limits of the tribe, but there is nothing to prevent marriage with an outsider. The bride is invariably purchased, and the price, which is generally paid in kind, consists of such things as guns, gyal, amber beads, gongs, &c. The debt incurred for the bride is allowed to go on for generations, and I have known of cases where grandsons were being pressed to settle the marriage debts contracted by the grandfather. A man may also serve for his wife in her father's house, but as in the case of Jacob of old, the final settlement for the bride takes a lot of working out. When a Kuki Chief contemplates matrimony he casts about for a suitable damsel of royal blood, and when such a one is found, overtures are made to the girl's parents or guardians. The price to be paid is settled and, as a rule, approximates the value of ten gyal: the equivalent of a gyal is forty rupees. When the preliminaries have been settled, the intending bridegroom goes to the bride's village and pays over the marriage-price. The bride's family then kill a gyal, and

feasting accompanied by excessive drinking continues for several days. In the case of a big Chief it lasts as long as a month. During this time the Chief is paying court to his prospective bride. At last the day of departure arrives, and the bride, after much lamentation on the part of the female members of her family, precedes her future husband to his village. Arrived there she enters the house of some friend, or, knowing nobody, into the house of one of the headmen of the village, and spends a whole day there, while the bridegroom goes to his own house. The following evening she proceeds to the house of the bridegroom,\* but on her way she has to pass through a somewhat trying ordeal. All the young men and boys of the village collect and smear her head and clothes with a mixture of gyal dung, mud and water, as witnessing their acceptance of the bride into the village community. When she enters the bridegroom's house she adjourns and washes herself and puts on new clothing, and the marriage ceremony is over. A Chief or villager may possess as many wives as he likes, in addition to concubines: but the first wife takes precedence, and her children inherit the property. Children by a concubine are not considered of royal blood, and rank as ordinary villagers.

When the first child is born it is invariably named by the wife's family. Any subsequent children can be named by the husband or wife.

Should the first child die at an age below six months, its death is treated without any ceremony. The body is put into an old earthenware pot and buried under the house. It is believed that if any ceremony is observed or lamentation made, the chances of obtaining a second child will be seriously prejudiced. Should the second child die in the same way it is accorded full burial rites.

The Chief is the recognised head of the village, and his word is law to the inhabitants. He settles all disputes that may arise, and is supposed to lead them against their foes and be the general dispenser of justice. To assist him he has three or four headmen chosen by himself. These men form a council and are called by the Kukis "Kawnbul" and by us "Karbaris" (men who manage affairs, from the Bengali word *karbar*). These men are supposed to advise the Chief on all matters of state, and all negotiations with foreigners are carried on through them. Every house in the village contributes towards the Chief's maintenance. The head Karbari will give seven baskets of paddy, each basket weighing fifty pounds. The second will give six baskets, the third five, and the fourth four. The ordinary villagers will give one basket for each house. In addition he will have his private cultivation. Beyond this nothing can be exacted from the villagers as a right, but on all big occasions, such as marriages, deaths, or the entertainment of other Chiefs or foreigners the villagers will contribute a share.

The Chief's house is a refuge to all who choose to enter it. They and their families then become slaves to the Chief, and he in turn has to provide for their wants. All orphans or widows without any relatives go to the Chief and become his slaves. Those who have committed murder, theft or other crime can claim sanctuary in the Chief's house and become his slaves. A man may also assign his posterity in certain cases to the Chief, and on his death they become the Chief's slaves. As an example *A* owes *B* a certain sum on account of his marriage, but *A* will not pay it. *B* then goes to the Chief and invokes his aid. The Chief brings pressure to bear on *A* and makes him settle the debt. On *B*'s death his children become the slaves

of the Chief, but his widow can return to her own people.

The slavery is not of a severe order. They are well treated, and share in the Chief's prosperity, and in return they do all the household duties and attend to his cultivation. Should a Chief ill-treat his slaves they would run away and go to some other Chief, who would not return them. A slave can purchase his freedom by paying the equivalent of one or two gyals, while girls are given in marriage for a similar price. A beautiful female slave generally becomes the Chief's concubine.

Widows are free to remarry anyone they like, but the widows of Chiefs must remain single if they are to retain their position, and should they marry they forfeit all rank.

Divorce is recognised; but if a man abandoned his wife without a cause he was supposed to leave the house with only a *dao* and a cloth, and make his way afresh in the world. Nowadays a civil court tries the case and awards monetary compensation.

The younger son succeeds to the parental home and the largest share of the property. The eldest son then has his share, and the remaining sons share whatever may be left.

The Kuki tribes are entirely nomadic. Each village community has a certain area of hills, over which it possesses the right to *jūm*, with certain village sites. The village will only occupy a site until the surrounding lands are exhausted for the purposes of *jūming*. The village is then moved to another site, and thus allows the old lands to recover. Disputes over *jūming* areas were, and still are, fruitful sources of dissension.

In old days these were settled by the law of "might is right", and were consequently the cause of much bloodshed.

The religion of the Kukis is wholly Animistic. Their principal endeavours are directed to propitiate the spirits of evil. They recognise a future abode where the spirits of the "dead reside, and this is known as *Mi-thi khua* or the Village of Dead Men," but they have no idea how long they are to remain there or what they are to do. The future world is divided into two parts. In one are all who have died a natural death, happy, and with no evil spirits to vex them, while in the other are those who die a violent death unavenged. They stay in this land of unrest until vengeance is effected, and hence the prevalence of blood feuds.

The Kukis have several festivals or *pujas*, and the following are some of the more important—

(1) *Chap-char-kut*, when the *jūms* have been cut the whole community make merry, and the girls all dance and sing together.

(2) *Mim-kut*, when there is no further need of weeding in the *jūms*.

(3) *Pal-kut*.—When the harvest is over the Chief's sorcerer or *puitiem* will take a small pig belonging to the Chief and a pot of liquor and make a sacrifice outside the village, while the inhabitants must remain within. This ceremony is known as *Kong-pui-shiem*. Afterwards each house will manufacture liquor, and ten days after the first ceremony each house will kill a pig or fowl and make merry, while the young men and maidens sing and dance. The Chief will wear a wonderful headgear made from the tail feathers of the Bhimraj, called *Va-kul-chang*; but to enable him to wear this he must have celebrated the *Kuong-choi*, which is the greatest of all feasts.

The Kukis bury their dead. In the event of death by cholera or small-pox, the corpse is buried without the village to avoid the risk of contagion. When death is the result of an accident or any other unnatural cause, the body is buried in the jungle, at some distance from the village, to prevent the evil spirits from disturbing the peace of the village. Ordinarily the dead body is interred in the village, in close proximity to the entrance of the house. Still-born infants are placed in an earthen jar and buried under the house. The Kukis had a terrible custom in the event of a mother dying in childbirth and the infant surviving. If there were nobody in the village ready to nurse the child, it was suffocated by being placed under the dead mother. I have no doubt that in remote villages the custom still exists.

I was present at the wake of a Kuki Chief belonging to the Howlong tribe. The dead body, duly washed and dressed in new clothes, was placed in the middle of the house. Drink and food were supplied freely to all, a portion of each being set aside for the corpse. The lying-in-state lasted for three or four days, and during this time the friends and relatives of the family assembled in the house of mourning. Old men in a maudlin state of intoscecation struck a drum at intervals and crooned out songs relative to the prowess and wonderful abilities of the deceased. The women-folk made loud lamentation, each vying with the other as to who could howl the loudest. In the meantime a coffin or shell had been hewn out of a big tree, and, when ready, the body was deposited within it. The sides were fastened down with thongs of raw leather, and the cracks plastered over with clay. The coffin was placed near a large open fire-place, on which a fire was kept burning day and night. A hollow bamboopipe was run through the bottom of the



coffin and passed through the floor into the earth below the house. The coffin remained in this position for over a month; in fact till all the tissues of the body had melted away and passed through the pipe into the earth. The coffin was then opened, the skull, thigh bones and arm bones were cleaned and stored away as family heirlooms, while the rest of the remains were returned to the coffin and buried outside the house.

Great respect is shown to the bones. Formerly they were produced on all great ceremonial occasions or when the village council met. The custom is, however, dying out. During the military expeditions between 1888 and 1894 the bones of deceased Chiefs were being constantly moved to avoid their falling into our hands, and were buried in different places. The collection once broken up will probably be abandoned. The custody of the family bones falls to the portion of the youngest son.

In former days blood-feuds raged throughout the hills; for if a man met his death at the hands of another it was incumbent upon his relatives or friends to provide a body to satisfy the restless spirit of the man that had been killed. It was not necessary that the man to be killed should be the actual slayer: any other would do equally well. I personally experienced an instance of this in 1892, when the great Lakher Chief, by name Vantura, was mortally wounded by some residents of a southern village called Sherkor. I was present in the village at the time of his death, and was accompanied by an escort of fifty Goorkha Rifles. Vantura had gone to levy toll on Sherkor, and some persons, wearied of his exactions, waylaid him in a *jūm* and, firing a volley, succeeded in shooting him through the lungs. The relatives of the wounded Chief besought me to come and see if I could do anything. I accompanied them,

but a sight of the stricken man plainly showed that he was beyond human aid. I shall never forget the scene at that death-bed. It was late at night, and a fierce storm was raging. The thunder crashed with deafening roar, as though the heavens were rent asunder, and the forked lightning flashed forth, dazzling and bewildering us with its electric brilliance and frequency.

The dying Chief was stretched on the floor in front of a blazing fire, his head resting on his wife's lap, while I knelt by his side and held his hand in sympathy; the room was crowded with relations and villagers, all gazing with wild intentness upon their dying Chief. Suddenly, with a convulsive effort, he raised himself up. I quickly slipped my arm as a support behind his back, but it was the final struggle with death. The blood spurted forth from the wound in his chest, a horrible choking gasp followed, and Vantura, the dreaded leader of blood-thirsty raids, fell back lifeless in my arms. Immediately the cry went forth—Vantura is dead! Vantura is dead!—and was taken up throughout the village. The loud wails of women lamenting were mixed with hoarse cries for revenge from the men, while anon guns were fired into the air to scare away the evil spirits who gathered together to capture the soul of the departed Chief. I and my party stood to arms the rest of the night, and our presence alone saved an immediate raid. I went down south and held an enquiry, and made such settlement as I could: but the blood feud smouldered the while, and when I was safe back at Fort Tregear, Dokola, a brother of the dead Chief, went forth and ambuscaded a party going to bazar. He secured three of them. One was a small boy, and though all were of the village of Sherkor, none of them had anything to do with the death of Vantura. Again I had to sally forth, and after a most adventurous



KUKIS WITH GUNS



KUKI GROUP OF MEN AND WOMEN WITH PIPES



hunt, which included a surprise attack on the village of Dokola, I finally succeeded in capturing him. The Chief Dokola missed hanging by the skin of his teeth, for the gallows was being constructed when a wire was received from Government to stay proceedings, and he was subsequently deported. He lived, however, to be released at the second Jubilee celebration of the Queen-Empress Victoria, and returned to his village. But the shadow of the rope was on him; for, being desirous of performing a special sacrifice, he planned and carried out the murder of a Sadhu, or religious Hindu mendicant, who was on his way through the hills to Burma. He escaped detection for some time, but the murder was finally brought home to him and he was eventually hanged.

All the hill tribes are extremely superstitious. They have a wholesome dread of the evil eye, and ascribe the possession of all sorts of malignant powers to the person reputed to possess such an eye. In 1893 I went with an escort to Fort Haka, in the Southern Chin Hills, to fetch transport mules, and was accompanied by a party of Fannais as transport coolies. On my arrival at Fort Haka the villagers went in a body to the Political Officer and besought him to have these men removed, as they all possessed the evil eye, and there was a general stampede which necessitated the sending away of my coolies.

They have a great terror of witchcraft, and a grim tragedy was enacted in 1898 when I was Superintendent of the South Lushai Hills. An aged Chieftainess, by name Darbilli, head of the Fannai clan, was sick unto death, and accused certain of her own villagers of having caused her illness through witchcraft. The news spread rapidly through the tribe, and a body of men collected, headed by a Chief's son. At early dawn

they rushed the houses of the suspected persons, and slaughtered all they could lay hands on—man, woman and child; the livers were torn out and a portion was despatched in all haste to the sick Chieftainess as a specific for her complaint; but she had breathed her last before the arrival of the potent medicine. The livers cut into minute pieces were eaten by all the tribe, and distributed throughout the hills as a charm against witchcraft. Only six or seven of the suspected persons escaped—one a mere lad; and though he was badly cut all over his body, he managed to crawl away into the jungle and escape observation. I had the boy in hospital for several weeks, and am glad to say he recovered. He was the principal witness in procuring the sentencing of several of the assailants to lengthy periods of imprisonment. I had to find a separate site for the poor wretches who escaped; for no village would admit them, and to this day they remain outcasts and are an object of dread to all the tribes. During my visit south to enquire into the shooting of Vantura I was fortunate enough to be the means of procuring the release of six captives that had been taken in a raid on the Arracan Hill Tracts, and from them I received corroborative evidence of the decapitating habits of these people. One of the captives, a young woman, being in an advanced state of pregnancy, was unable to keep up with the victorious raiders. Her head was severed, her body cut open, and the head of the unburn babe was also cut off. As a rule female captives are well treated once they reach the village of the conquerors, and provided they escape from all the attendant rites of victory. They frequently marry and settle down happily amongst their captors, or form *liaisons* which bind them to the village. An instance of this occurred amongst these very captives whom I

had released. She was a young woman who escaped from our post at Fort Tregear and tried to get back to the village whence we had taken her in order to rejoin her fancy-man. It was four days' march, and on the way she fell and injured her knees, and being retaken by our men was brought back to the post. It was not till she finally reached her own village in the Arracan Hill Tracts, after a long journey *vid* Chittagong and Akyab, that she became reconciled to her freedom.

When the captives were surrendered to me they were stark naked, and the Kukis refused to give them cloths. I ordered my men to secure as many cloths as were necessary from the bodies of the young braves who were standing about. This order the little Goorkhas carried out with great pleasure, and the women were soon supplied with a sufficiency of clothing.

A most interesting note exists from the pen of a traveller in the last century, and I give it in full, as it contains, on the whole, a wonderfully accurate knowledge of the Kukis, and proves that the officials of that remote age had opportunities of mixing with the wild tribes and acquiring an excellent knowledge of their ways and customs. From the French of Monsieur Bouchesriche, who translated the original from the English of J. Rennel, Chief Engineer of Bengal, styled "Upon the Religion, the Manners, Laws, and the Customs of the Kukis, or Inhabitants of the Tipra Mountains," published at Leipsic in 1800, and quoted in Captain Lewin's "Chittagong Hill Tracts and the Dwellers Therein," published by the Bengal Government in 1870 :—

"The nation which inhabits the hills to the East of Bengal give to the Creator the name of Patyen or Patchien. They believe that in every tree resides a deity, that the sun and moon,

are gods, and that the worship rendered by them to these deities of secondary importance is agreeable to Patyen, the great Creator."

If a man of this nation should happen to slay another, neither the Chief nor any of the relations of the deceased have the right of vengeance, but if the brother or near relation choose to kill the murderer, none has the right to prevent them.

When a Kuki is taken in theft, or any other crime, the Chief can compel him to reimburse the persons who have been injured by his misdeed, and after giving his decision the Chief is entitled to a fee. The criminal and the aggrieved party are compelled to give a feast to their respective tribes.

The Kukis formerly were not in the habit of killing all women found by them in the dwelling of their adversaries.

The origin of the present barbarous custom is indeed singular enough. A woman who was engaged working in the fields asked another why she had come so late to her sowing. She replied that her husband having just started on the war path, she had been detained in preparing his food and other necessary arrangements. One of the enemies of her tribe heard her say this, and became very angry that she had thus succoured one who had gone out to do injury to his tribe. He bethought himself also that if the women did not take care of the house and prepare their husbands' food when going on the war path, considerable inconvenience would accrue. Since then the Kukis always cut off the heads of the women of vanquished enemies, and are more murderously disposed to any who may be with child. A Kuki who, in surprising a village, can kill a woman big with child, and obtain both her head and that of the unborn infant.



is thought to have committed a most meritorious act, as with one blow he has destroyed two enemies.

The marriage customs among the people are as follows:—When a rich man desires to take to wife a certain girl, he makes a present of four or five head of cattle (gyal) to her parents, and forthwith takes her to his home; her parents kill the gyal, and having cooked much rice and brewed much liquor they give a great feast to all relations and kin. Poorer people follow the same custom in accordance with their means. Kukis are allowed to marry without regard to blood relationship, only a mother may not wed with her son. If the woman have a son by her husband, the marriage is indissoluble, but if they do not agree, and have no son, the husband can cast off his wife and take another.

The Kukis have no idea of hell or heaven, or of any punishment for evil deeds or reward for good actions. They do believe, however, that when a person dies a spirit seizes his soul and carries it off, and at the moment of his being carried off whatever is named the dead man will obtain and enjoy hereafter.

This people eat the flesh of the elephant, pigs and other animals, and if they happen to find a dead beast they do not hesitate to dry its flesh for consumption. When a tribe determines to make war they send out spies to discover the position and force of their enemy, as well as to find out the path. They then lay an ambush at night, and at 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning they fall with fury on the unsuspecting villagers and cut them up. Their weapons are sword, lance, and bow and arrow. If an enemy abandon his village they slay all the women and children who may be found in it, and carry off everything they can lay hands on, but if the enemy, having learned their design, has the courage to meet the onslaught they quietly and quickly

return to their village. If the Kukis see a star very near the moon, they look upon it as a certain sign of an intended assault on their village, and they pass the night under arms. They frequently lie in wait in the jungle and paths near their village and kill any who may pass that way.

When the Kukis are thus in ambush leech-bites or snake-bites will not draw the faintest cry from them nor make them quit their hiding-place. The man who brings back the head of a foe is sure of universal applause. If two tribes, when fighting hand-to-hand, see that the victory is uncertain, they make a signal to suspend the combat, and send out ambassadors to negotiate a peace. They call upon sun and moon to witness the sincerity of their proposals, and peace is ratified with a grand feast. But if one tribe is weaker than the other and succumbs in the conflict, they are compelled to pay a yearly tribute in rice, cattle, slaves, or arms.

In the field the Kukis' provisions consist of yams and rice boiled to a cake in bamboo. They are thus enabled to dispense with cooking, and can make long and rapid marches without fatigue. They massacre without pity men, women and children, reserving only such as they wish for slaves. They carry away the heads of the slain in leather sacks, and are careful if possible to keep their hands unwashed and bloody. The slaughter is always crowned by a big feast, where they indulge in the grim pleasantry of filling the mouths of the heads they have cut off with food, saying "Eat, appease your hunger and thirst. In the same way that I have slain you may my children kill yours." This feast is repeated a second time in the course of the expedition, and as often as possible news is sent to their village as to their success and the number of heads they have taken. Whenever it is known that heads

have been obtained the whole village evinces the liveliest satisfaction. They make head-dresses with beads and precious things, and taking with them large vessels of spirits go to meet the conquerors. During the journey they blow reed pipes, strike gongs, and make the woods resound with rude music. When they meet the conquerors they break into song and dance, and give themselves up to the expression of the most frantic enjoyment. When a married man brings his wife a head they pledge one another alternately in horns of liquor, and she even washes his bloody hands in the liquor that they drink. As soon as the conquerors reach their village they assemble before the Chief's house and make a pyramid of the heads they have taken. Round this monument of their victory they dance and drink until, as a rule, they fall from sheer intoxication.

They kill by thrust of spear some pigs and gyal and make a fresh feast in which the liquor is not spared. The principal men of the tribes place their enemies heads on bamboo poles, and these they place on the tombs of their ancestors. The man who brings most heads receives from the richest persons in the tribe presents of cattle and liquor, and when any of the enemy have been brought in alive, the Chiefs who have not taken part in the expedition are allowed to slaughter these unhappy captives.

The artificers of all warlike weapons are confined to certain tribes. The others are quite ignorant of all handicraft.

The women do all the house-work. The men are employed in hunting, in cultivating and in war. They know no division of time, save from day to day. Five days after the birth of a son and three days after that of a daughter they give a feast to all their kin.

The ceremony commences by the placing of a pole before the house; they then kill a gyal or pig, and drink is served out *ad libitum*. The day concludes with song and dance. Those Kukis whom nature or accident has rendered incapable of reproduction keep no house. They live from door to door like religious mendicants. When one presents himself at the house of a rich man the owner ties a long string of red and white stones to a bamboo to guard against impotence, and gives alms to the mendicant and feasts the village. They pay superstitious homage to these red and white stones.

When a man dies his relations kill a pig or gyal and boil the flesh. They cover the corpse with a piece of cloth, pour a little liquor into its mouth, of which they all first partake, as a species of offering to the deceased man. This ceremony is repeated at intervals for many days. They afterwards place the body on a low platform of split bamboo. They pierce the corpse in several places and light a slow fire underneath, so as to dry the body. They then wrap it in a shroud and bury it, and for a year afterwards they offer the first fruits of their crops on the tomb. Some tribes pay different honors to the dead. They cover the body in cloth and matting, and suspend it from the branches of a lofty tree; when the flesh is quite decomposed they collect the bones, clean them and preserve them in a vase. This they open on all important occasions, pretending that in consulting the bones they are following the wishes of their deceased relative.

A widow of the tribe is compelled to remain for a year beside the tomb of her deceased husband, whither the family bring her food. If she dies during this year they pay her funeral honours, but if she survives they reconduct her to her house and celebrate her return by a festival.

When a Kuki leaves three sons the eldest and youngest share the inheritance; the second has nothing. If he leaves no sons his goods fall to his brothers, and if he has no brothers they become the property of the Chief of the tribe.

In the spring of 1776 many Kukis visited Mr. Charles Crofter, who was the Commandant for the English East India Company at Islamabad.\* They appeared very satisfied with their reception, executed their dances, and promised to return after the harvest.

\* Islamabad, the Moghul name for Chittagong.

## CHAPTER X.

Tipára tribe—The Septs—History, note of Maharajah of Hill Tipára—Marriage—Birth—Divorce—Succession—Death—Physique—Religion—Pujas—Superstitions. Banjagis, or Pankhos—Tribe—Origin of Tribe—Septs—Personal description, Marriage—Religion—Inheritance—Death rites. Mro tribe—Origin—Septs—Religion—Locality—Physique—Marriage—Death rites. Kumi tribe—Derivation of name—Locality—Characteristic of Village—Marriage—Death rites. Khyang tribe—Religion—Death rites—Dress of women.

In this chapter I propose to deal with Tipáras and the remaining tribes residing in the Hill Tracts. These may all safely be grouped together, and a short note on each tribe will give the reader any interesting peculiarity of their manners and customs.

*Tipáras.*

The Tipáras in the Chittagong Hill Tracts number 23,341, and are scattered throughout the district. This tribe is also called Tripura, and is divided into two classes, the Puraná, or Tipáras proper, and Jamatiyas.

The following sub-castes or septs exist in the Hill Tracts :—

- |                         |              |
|-------------------------|--------------|
| 1. Hapang.              | 7. Hakler.   |
| 2. Jamatiya or Achlong. | 8. Kewar.    |
| 3. Phadong.             | 9. Tombai.   |
| 4. Naitong.             | 10. Daindak. |
| 5. Husoi.               | 11. Garbing. |
| 6. Noatiya or Murungs.  | 12. Riang.   |

The majority of the Tipáras in the district belong to the Riang sept, which is undoubtedly of Kuki

origin, but has been admitted into the tribe. The Tipáras in the Chittagong Hill Tracts are extremely ignorant, and it is very difficult to collect any history of their origin. Tradition says that they formerly resided in the hills to the south of the Matamuri river, and that they were under the leadership of two brothers, by name Kilay and Manglay, who were karbaris or managers on behalf of the Tipára Raja Udaygiri. This is supported by facts, for there are still people residing in these parts whose language is identical with the Riangs, but who are called Murungs by the Maghs. They are generally classed with the Mros, to whom the name Murung is equally applied: but in reality they are entirely separate. In the Census Report of 1901, for Bengal, Mr. Gait, c.s., states that the Jamatiyas originally came from Achlong in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Achlong is a small tributary of the Pheni river in the north of the Hill Tracts, but I can find no trace of occupancy in the neighbourhood. On the other hand I have visited the ruins of what is reputed to have been at one time the capital of the Tipára kingdom, situated on the Mynée river, a tributary of the Kassalong and separated only by a range of hills from the Pheni. Here there are ruins of a big house and four or five large tanks with remains of masonry ghats of fire-burnt bricks at each corner; but wild elephants have worn these away by going to and coming from their baths. Dense tree and cane forests overgrow the site, but amongst the trees remain some fine specimens of cultivated mangoes. Ridges on the surface of the ground are traceable in the forests, giving proof of a period when the whole country was under rice cultivation, and there must have been a very big settlement of Tipáras in these parts. The site is now in the heart of the Kassalong forest reserve.

This was, I imagine, the original home of the Jamatiyas.

I have compiled the following brief account of the royal family of the Tipára Raj from notes kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. Sandys, Private Secretary to His Highness the present Maharaja of Hill Tipára.

The royal family of the Tipáras, or Tripuras, claim a very early origin, dating back to 600 B. C., while the family of the present Maharaja dates from 590 A. D. He is the ninety-third in descent from Raja Biraraj, the founder of his dynasty.

In the year 1512 the Tipáras were at the height of their power, and captured Chittagong from the Moguls; but they were subsequently driven out by the Arracanese with the help of the Portuguese, and their capital of Oodaipore was sacked in 1587. The Tipára kingdom was subsequently continuously attacked by the Moguls, and much of its territory was lost. In 1761, the East Indian Company, to whom the previous year Chittagong had been ceded by treaty with the Muhammadan Governor of Bengal, ordered Mr. Verelest, their chief representative at Chittagong, to co-operate with the Moguls and attack Tipára. This he proceeded to do, but the Tipára Raja placed himself in the hands of the British Commander. In spite of this his kingdom was desolated by the Mogul force, and he was forced to pay for the total cost of the expedition, but the independence of his kingdom was not interfered with; and in 1809 the Raja was "invested with the insignia of kingship as regards the Hills, while the British courts gave him possession of the lands in the plains." And at the present day, to quote Sir Alexander Mackenzie in his *North-East Frontier of Bengal*, page 272:—"The Raja, who is an ordinary Bengali Zemindar in the plains, reigns an independent



prince over 3,000 square miles of upland, and was for many years a more absolute monarch than Scindia of Patalia, owning no law but his own sovereign will, bound by no treaty, subject to no control."

The rulers of Tipára have assisted the British Government at various periods :—

In 1824, during the Burmese War.

In 1857, when the 34th Native Infantry mutinied at Chittagong, all the mutineers found within the limits of the State were arrested and delivered up to the British authorities.

In 1870-1871, by providing coolies for transport purposes for the Lushai Expedition.

The present Maharaja of Independent Hill Tipára is Eshan Chandra Manikya.

The Tipáras in the Hill Tracts recognise the circle Chief as their head, but revere the Maharaja as head of the whole tribe.

As regards marriage the septs may intermarry freely, nor is there any objection to matrimony outside the limits of the tribe. They are nomadic, moving backwards and forwards between the Hill Tracts and Hill Tipára, according to their *júming* requirements. Any outsider can be admitted into the tribe, and the only qualification is a feast given by the candidate to his new fellow-tribesmen.

Marriage is settled by the parents. When a suitable girl has been selected two friends are despatched to her house with two bottles of liquor and settle all details, including the date of marriage. No price is paid, but after the marriage feast the bridegroom has to take up his abode in the bride's house and become a member of the family for the space of two years, during which time he must work with and for the family. The whole of the cotton crop of the *ám* is

reserved for his benefit to enable him to buy things for himself, so that on the expiry of the two years he may have no difficulty in setting up his own home. During this period the couple live together as man and wife, and on its expiry they start on their own account.

A woman is unclean for fifteen days after child-birth, and a *puja* is then performed called Gang Sala. An altar is erected in the river, and flowers, fruits, &c., are placed on it. According to the means of the family six fowls, or two goats and six fowls, are sacrificed in the water near the altar, and their heads are placed near the other offerings. The woman having bathed herself and put on new clothes comes and makes obeisance before the altar, and is then considered purified and can resume her household duties. The *puja* must take place at any rate fifteen days after the birth of a child, but if the woman cannot attend through sickness, she goes through a purification in her house, when warm water may be used. Tradition states that formerly a price was demanded for the girl sought in marriage, but the man who paid in this way, together with his young wife, suddenly died shortly after marriage, and the practice was discontinued.

Divorce can be arranged for by mutual consent, but should either party wish to separate without due reason, they must pay Rs. 126 as compensation and provide a pig for the benefit of the community.

The laws that govern succession are somewhat different from those in use among the other tribes. If during the father's lifetime the eldest son separates himself from the family and starts a home on his own account, he forfeits all claim to inherit any of the property, which then descends to the younger son. If, however, he elects to remain always in his father's house,

he inherits the whole of the property, and the younger sons have no share whatever.

With the exception that the men are taller, there is but slight difference in the general appearance of the Tipáras as compared with the rest of the Kuki group. The women are comely and their dress and ornaments are identical with that of the Maghs. The religion of the Tipáras is a compound of Hinduism and Animism. They believe in one supreme God and several minor deities, male and female; they also believe in *bhuts* or demons.

Their principal *puja* is to Garaia, who is worshipped on Bishu day, which corresponds to the Magh festival of Mahamoni and takes place on the last day of the Maghy year. Much respect is shown to Bhut, or Bura-ha, and his son, Jhampira, the King of the Demons. These reside in the forests, and are capable of working all sorts of evil.

The Tipáras believe in a hereafter—a pleasant land where those that have done good will live in comfort and ease. In this heaven both sexes have equal rights. A land of barrenness where there is ceaseless toil without any good result, and constant harassment by *bhuts*, awaits the evil doer. This belief is identical in every respect to that held by the Lushais.

The Tipáras are very superstitious.

It is exceedingly unlucky for a kite to settle on the roof of the house, for a dog to jump up on to the roof, or for a crow to sit and caw on the roof early in the morning.

Should the centre beam of the roof sag at all, the house is abandoned and a new one built. If the house is destroyed by fire, on no account must a new one be erected on the same site.

Should the steps break while ascending to or descending from the house, misfortune is sure to follow.

Should a person about to take a journey meet with an empty water-pot, or see a dead body of any sort, he will be well advised to put off his departure; while if a person sneezes behind his back when he is on the point of leaving the house to start on his journey it must be at once abandoned.

Any dream in connection with fire, charcoal or smoke of a cut *ñim*, eating anything acid, of the dead, of having the hair cut, losing a tooth, or journeying down stream is singularly unlucky. To dream of small fishes or milk, of eating parched grain, of an umbrella, cap, shoes or sandals, riding a horse or elephant, crossing or going up-stream, possessing long hair is, however, a good omen. It is also exceedingly lucky if a snake crosses the path from right to left, but crossing from left to right will bring bad luck. The Tipáras burn their dead. The body is washed and dressed in new clothes and remains in the house from one to three days, to enable the relatives to assemble. It is then taken to the funeral pyre and burnt with the head to the west. A male has six layers and a female seven layers of wood in the pyre, the female getting the extra layer as a compliment for her life-long discharge of the duties of the home. The ashes are thrown into the water. A meal is supplied to the corpse while in the house, and for seven days after the burning some food will be placed at the site where the body is burned. The *shraddha* or funeral ceremony is observed for both sexes, and should if possible take place within a year of death; but till such a time as this ceremony has been duly performed, a meal must be placed once a month on the site where the body was burned.

*Banjogis and Pankhos.*

These two tribes are very closely allied; in fact the only difference noticeable to the ordinary person is that

the Banjogi dresses his hair in a knot on the top of the head, while the Pankho dresses his in a knot at the back of the head. The name Banjogi is derived from "Ban," a forest, and "jogi," wanderer: but I can find no derivation for the Pankho. I consider these tribes to be offshoots of the "Lais," who occupy the Chin Hills between the Tashon country in the north and the Zan country in the south. The tribal influence of the "Lais" extends from the Burma boundary on the east to the Lushai country on the west. The Lais undoubtedly, in old days, were to be found in Arracan and its Hill Tracts, for we find mention of them among the earliest of the records of our dealings with the Raja of Arracan. A letter received about June 24th 1787, from the Raja of Arracan to the Chief of Chittagong, reads thus:—

"Our territories are composed of five hundred and sixty countries, and we have been ever on terms of friendship, and the inhabitants of other countries willingly and freely trade with the countries belonging to each of us. A person named Krotty having absconded from our country, took refuge in yours. I did not, however, pursue him with a force, but sent a letter of friendship on the subject, desiring that Krotty might be given up to me; you, considering your own power and the extent of your possessions, refused to send him to me. I, also, am possessed of an extensive country; and Krotty, in consequence of his disobedient conduct and the strength of my King's good fortune, was destroyed.

"Domcan Chakma and Kiroopa 'Lais,' Merrings and other inhabitants of Arracan have now absconded and taken refuge near the mountains within your border, and exercise depredations on the people belonging to both countries, and they moreover murdered an Englishman at the mouth of the Naf, and stole away everything he had with him. Hearing of this I am come to your boundaries with an army in order to seize them, because they have deserted their own country, and, disobedient to my King, exercise the profession of robbers. It is not proper that you should give asylum to them or other Maghs who have absconded from Arracan, and you will do right to drive them

from your country that our friendship may remain perfect, and that the road of travellers and merchants may be secured. If you do not drive them from your country and give them up, I shall be under the necessity of seeking them out with an army, in whatever part of your territories they may be. I send this letter by Mahammed Wassene. Upon receipt of it entirely drive the Maghs from your country, or if you mean to give them an asylum, return me an answer immediately."

This bombastic effusion is of great historical interest to the Chittagong Hill Tracts, as it deals with no less than four of the tribes inhabiting the district at the present day, namely Maghs, Chakmas, Merrings (Murungs) and Lais (Pankho and Banjogi). It also corroborates the Magh history relative to the movements of Bohmong Konglafru, who probably left the Arracan court without permission.

The small remnants of these two tribes are scattered about the Hill Tracts; and they are doubtless becoming extinct, for Captain Lewin, in his "Hill Tracts and the Dwellers therein," gives the numbers in 1865 as 3,000, but the Census of 1901 returns only 1,680, and of this total there are only 144 Pankhos. I have met with a few Banjogis and Pankhos in the Lushai Hills living in the villages on the upper Kolodyne river, and can recall an old Pankho Chief, by name T'ingtua, who was a good friend to me on more than one occasion when I visited his village in those troublous days.

The Banjogis have three septs—(1) Doi Tlung, (2) Lon Sing, and (3) Sunkla. Of these the Sunklas are considered the highest in importance, and a Sunkla bride commands a higher price in the matrimonial market. There is, however, no restriction to inter-marriage between the septs. The Pankhos have only two septs, the Pankho and Vanzang, and both are equal. Intermarriage between Pankho and Banjogi is allowed, but not with other tribes.

Their personal description tallies with that given of the Kukis, save that the girls and women leave their breasts uncovered, and wear a shorter petticoat than the Kukis. This garment they keep up by means of ~~bead~~ girdles of various pattern, and a young lady who appeared before me recently wore six girdles, finishing up with one composed of brass rattles which she wore half-way across the hips. On her head she had a chaplet of beads worked by herself into quaint patterns, and round her neck she had a dozen different sizes of bead necklaces. Her costume may be described as bead and brass and little else beside, and yet she displayed the greatest *sang froid* and answered my questions with cheery readiness. They possess no history or tradition that I have been able to discover, and, like the Kukis, they are of nomadic habits. A noticeable fact is that they alone of all the tribes do not allow polygamy. Their marriage rites are simple. The parents choose a suitable girl as a bride, and send two male friends to the bride's parents to broach the subject of matrimony.

If the girl and her parents approve, they return and communicate the fact and the price is settled. This varies between thirty and a hundred and fifty rupees. The sum is either paid in full or by instalments, or by labour for the parents of the bride. The actual ceremony consists in slaying a fowl by beating it on the breast with the flat side of a *dao* until blood oozes from the mouth. One of the friends then dips the first finger of his right hand into the blood, and makes a mark on the forehead of the bride and bridegroom. He then informs them that they are man and wife, and the usual feasting follows. Of the two tribes the Banjogis are the more prosperous and indulge in great feasts, but the Pankhos have to content themselves with a very humble show.

They have very little in the way of religion, but acknowledge a universal God whom they call "Kozing." They also propitiate a spirit called "Kornu Bol," to whom they sacrifice a fowl, leaving a small portion of the flesh for the spirit and devouring the rest themselves. They take a considerable time to make up their mind as to whether they shall have a sacrifice; and when they have settled this difficult point, they place a piece of string round each wrist to remind them that they have pledged themselves to propitiate Kornu Bol. A month or two afterwards, if things have not gone well with them, they sacrifice the fowl, remove the strings from the wrists, and proudly wear a tuft of feathers tied with a string round the neck. Nearly every member of the tribe one meets wears the string round the wrists, but very few get as far as having it round their necks, and Kornu Bol must indeed be a long-suffering spirit. This parsimony is characteristic of the Lais, whose one endeavour is to propitiate the spirits as cheaply and to make promises suffice for as long a time as possible. When delay can no longer be made they start with the lowest article on the sacrificial list, namely a dubious fowl's egg, and slowly, very slowly, mount up till the climax of propitiation is reached in the sacrifice of a gyal. But it will take two or three generations to arrive at the great sacrifice.

Inheritance is in the male line alone, and the youngest son receives the larger share of the property.

I have been at the funeral of a Banjogi of position, and the following is a brief account:—

The dead body, that of an old gentleman, was decked out in new clothes, his face painted, and the tail feathers of the *bhimraj* were stuck in the hair. The corpse was placed in a sitting position on the floor at the end of the house facing the entrance. A feast was



prepared, and every one was at liberty to come and have food and drink with the corpse. The share of the latter was placed by its side on the right. The nearest relatives spent all their time in feasting and drinking and droning out a sort of dirge dilating on the estimable qualities of the dear departed. The widow, weeping liquor, would occasionally fan the corpse and drive away the flies with a fan made from the tail feathers of the toucan, or greater hornbill. This went on for twenty-four hours. In the meanwhile a grave had been dug outside the house, near to the platform that is found in front of each house. It was dug east and west, and to the right, at the bottom of the grave, a space was tunnelled out. When this was ready the corpse was straightened out and wrapped in its cloths, together with a spear and a water-bottle, and lowered into the grave with the head placed to the east inside the tunnel. The open side of this was closed in with split bamboo and the grave filled up. The tunnel is made so that loose earth shall not fall on the corpse. This custom of burial is followed by Muhammadans, who, however, lay the corpse with the head to the west.

Captain Lewin, in his "Hill Tracts and the Dwellers therein," gives an account of the creation of man as narrated to him by a Banjogi, and I give it in full as all the tribes of the Kuki group have the legend on nearly identical lines:—"Formerly our ancestors came out of a cave in the earth, and we had one great Chief, named Tlandropa. He it was who first domesticated the Gyal; he was so powerful that he married God's daughter. There were great festivities at the marriage, and Tlandropa made God a present of a famous Gun that he had. You can still hear the Gun; the thunder is the sound of it. At the marriage, our Chief called all the

animals to help to cut a road through the jungle to God's house, and they all gladly gave assistance to bring home the bride, all save the sloth (the hulak monkey is his grandson) and the earthworm; and on this account they were cursed, and cannot look on the Sun without dying. The cave whence man first came out is in the Lushai country close to Vanhuilens's village, of the Burdaiya tribe; it can be seen to this day, but no one can enter. If one listens outside, the deep notes of the gong and the sound of men's voices can still be heard. Some time after Tlandropa's marriage all the country became on fire, and God's daughter told us to come down to the sea-coast, where it is cool. That was how we first came into this country. At that time mankind and the birds and beasts all spoke one language. Then God's daughter complained to her father that her tribe were unable to kill the animals for food, as they talked and begged for life with pitiful words, making the hearts of men soft, so that they could not slay them. On this, God took from the beasts and birds the power of speech, and food became plentiful among us. We eat every living thing that cannot speak. At that time, also, when the great fire broke from the earth, the world became dark and men broke up and scattered into clans and tribes. Their languages also became different.

In the Lushai Expedition of 1888-89 Howsata, the Lakher Chief's body was exhumed while searching for Lieutenant Stewart's head. The body of the Chief was found in the tunnel, and with it Lieutenant Stewart's express rifle. The skull was recovered many months after in one of the Lais villages, and was buried in the cemetery at Fort Haka, while other remains of this cruelly-murdered officer lie buried at the site of the outrage in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

*Mro or Mrú.*

This tribe I believe to be the true aboriginal tribe of the district, and it has certain peculiar customs that divide it very distinctly from the other tribes.

The tribe is known amongst themselves as Mro. The other hill tribes and plainsmen refer to them as Murungs: but this term is really only applicable to a sept of the Tipáras.

Amongst the Mros there are five septs:—

- (1) Dengua, signifying the cultivated plantain tree.
- (2) Premsang, the cockscomb plant.
- (3) Kongloi, wild plantain tree.
- (4) Naizar, jack tree.
- (5) Gnaroo Gnar, mango tree.

These trees, however, have no connection at the present day with tribal "totems," but it appears that totemistic worship existed in the remote past. At the present day the religion is Animistic. They profess a belief in a universal spirit whom they call "Turai," and show him a certain amount of reverence. But "Oreng," the spirit of water, is their most honored deity. In the month of July the whole of a village community will go to the side of running water and sacrifice a couple of goats and from twenty to thirty fowls. A miniature altar of bamboo is erected in the water. On this are placed rice-flour cakes and parched rice, and the spirit Oreng is invoked to make the *júms* yield a good harvest and keep away sickness or any other ill-hap from the village. All oaths to be of binding nature must be sworn by Oreng, and are by gun, *dao* and tiger.

The Mros also have a household deity whom they call "Sungteung," but he is of little importance. They venerate the sun and the moon, but do not make any actual worship to either. They believe in no hereafter.

that complete annihilation follows death. They respect Buddhism, and I have no doubt that in course of time the tribe will finally adopt this religion. It is a boast of the tribe that they possess no education whatever and do not want any.

The Mros are scattered over the hills to the west of the Sangu river, and those in the Matamari valley. They are nomadic in habit, but this is due to force of circumstances alone; for the village site has to be moved when the surrounding country has become exhausted by *janging*. An epidemic of cholera will also make them move the village.

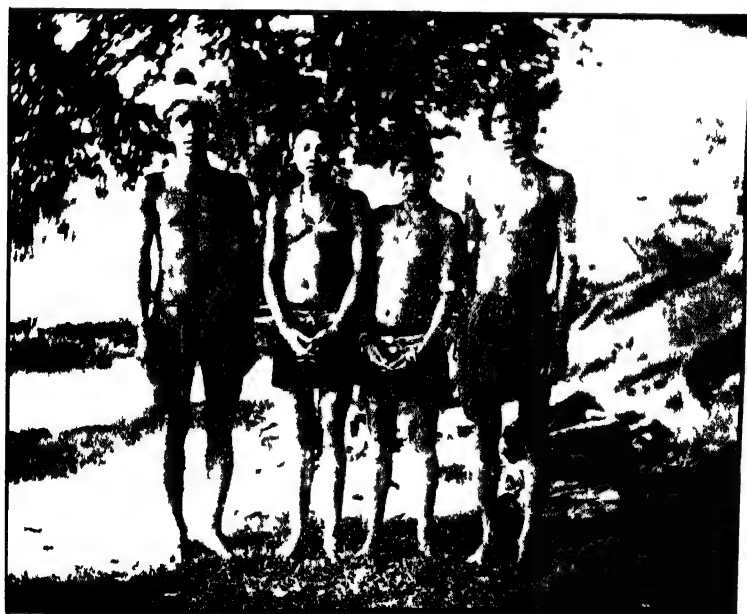
The men are physically very fine specimens, and the majority are fair skinned, with non-Mongolian features. When permitted the moustache and beard grow freely, but as a rule the hairs of the beard are pulled out by the root, and only the moustache is grown. The men wear blue loin cloths, which they tie in a very curious way, leaving a strip two or three feet in length to hang down behind. This custom has earned them the nickname of the monkey tribe from the other hill tribes. When a party of Mros are going on a journey to a distance from their village, each member of the party will pluck a piece of *stam* grass, and, going to a stream, the senior of the party will enter the water and invoke the aid of "Oreng," after which each person will stick their piece of grass into the earth or sand at the edge of the stream and then set forth on their journey.

The Mros are naturally very timid and keep very much to themselves. Of their own history they know nothing, but believe they migrated from the Arracan Hill Tracts, and that they once owned allegiance to one King of Burma.

The following, or History of Arracan, states that the first King of Arracan somewhere in the



JANKHO CLOUJ



MRO GROUP



fourteenth century. The Mros will admit no stranger into their tribe.

When marriage is decided upon, the father or another of the bridegroom or a near relative visits the young lady's house, taking along a present of rupees ten or three or four fowls. The possibilities of marriage are discussed, and, if agreed upon, the presents are accepted, but if not the money is returned; the fowls, however, are eaten. The marriage consists in paying the price fixed upon for the girl, which varies between fifty and two hundred rupees; and in the general feasting at the ceremony a string is tied round the right wrist of all males attending. This string must be allowed to rot off, and if removed intentionally bad luck will ensue. Marriage by elopement occurs, where both sides make the best of the matter. A man also secures his wife by serving for three years in his father-in-law's house. A Mro infant has to be named the day after birth. Selection is first made of three or four likely names, but the final selection rests on the throw of two *cowries* (small shells) or pieces of cut turmeric root. A name is mentioned and the *cowries* are thrown. If one *cowrie* falls with its face down and the other with the face up, it is considered lucky and that name is selected, but if both the *cowries* fall with faces up or faces down it is considered unlucky, and the name is not selected. A fresh name is mentioned and the performance repeated. The same rule applies to the pieces of cut turmeric. If both cut ends appear uppermost it is unfortunate, but if one whole and one cut end appear the result is auspicious and the name is chosen.

The Mros burn their dead, and there is no subsequent period of mourning.

**Kumi.**

**Kumi or Khami.**—There are about fifteen hundred of the tribe settled in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The great majority, however, are settled on the Koladyne river in Arracan, the Census figures showing over fifteen thousand resident in Burma.

The word Kumi owes its derivation to the Arracanese compound word *kwey-musi*, the word *kwey* signifying a dog and *musi* production, or the dog race—probably a delicate allusion to the dog-eating propensities of the tribes.

The tribe formerly resided in the hills near the upper Kolodyne river in the Arracan Hill Tracts, but has moved over into this district. They have no past history or recognised Chiefs. Each village community is under its own Raoja or Karbari (headman), and they own tribal allegiance to the Bohmong as the Chief of the country.

In old days their villages used to be stockaded and carefully guarded against sudden raids; but nowadays they are quite unprotected, as all need for such precaution disappeared with the annexation of the Lushai Hills and the disarmament of their inhabitants.

Their marriage customs are similar to those in vogue amongst the other tribes of the Kuki group. In addition to the cash payment, the bridegroom has to give a certain number of spears and war *daos*. This is a survival of the time when a tax was placed on matrimony to assist in keeping up the fighting strength of the village community supplied with the necessary weapons of offence and defence. At a marriage omens are taken, and are decided by the condition of the tongue of a fowl.

A cock is killed by strangulation, and plucked and boiled whole. The tongue is afterwards pulled out by the root and consulted. If the edges of the tongue are found to stand straight up, then good luck is assured.





KHYENS STANDING IN THE ALLANDAH OF THEIR HOUSE



MACHI WOMEN FRINGING IN LUET



but if they are found to be bent in or crooked then the luck can be but bad. As with the other tribes, however, the experiment can be repeated till success attends the effort. A few of the soft feathers from under the right wing of the fowl are tied with a fresh-spun thread on the right wrist of the bride, and this bracelet is worn for good luck till the feathers and string drop away of their own accord.

The dead are burned, and a curious procedure is introduced in the preservation of the calcined remains of the bones. These are collected and wrapped up in a new piece of cloth, and are then placed in a small bamboo house erected for the purpose which partakes of the nature of a family vault, for only the remains of the members of one family may occupy the same house. No repairs are made to this house, and a new one is erected when required. Once in every seven days, for a period extending to one year, a full meal is placed in the house containing the ashes. The same ceremony is followed for both sexes. There is no particular way of laying the corpse on the funeral pyre, and no subsequent period of mourning.

#### *Khyangs.*

The Khyangs, or Khayengs, principally live on the spurs of the hill range which separates the Chittagong Hill Tracts from Arracan. They call themselves Shō and are closely allied to the Chins. The Khyangs in the district number about five hundred souls and are extremely shy, preferring to remain in the most inaccessible places, contrary to the habits of their fellow tribesmen in Arracan, where they are rapidly assimilating the manners and customs of the Barman.

This tribes has no sub-castes or sects, and its manners and customs are much the same as the other tribes. Their religion their tendencies are more Buddhistic than

anything else, though they propitiate a household deity called *Nada Ga*, and also the spirit of water, which is called *Bogley*.

The death rites are simple in the extreme. The body is only kept for a night and there is no feasting. On the next day it is burnt, the earthen cooking-pots in use at the time of the death and an earthen liquor-pot are taken and smashed to pieces at the site of the funeral pyre, and a *furung*, or clothes-basket is broken up. Water is poured on the ashes, but no fragments are kept and there is no subsequent mourning.

The women wear very neat clothes. Young girls wear a jacket with no sleeves, and cut low in a V shape both in front and at the back. This has no opening and is slipped on over the head. It is beautifully woven in colours with the most elaborate patterns. The petticoat is worn long, almost reaching to the ankles. Their ornaments are similar to those worn by Magh women. The jacket mentioned is only worn by unmarried girls, who are also at liberty to expose their breasts; but a married women, as soon as she has a child, must adopt the strip of cloth as is worn by the Magh women, and keep her bosoms covered.

## CHAPTER XI.

**Festivals—The Mahamoni—Rangamati Mela—The Kuong choi feast—Traditions of the creation-story of King Baranasi and his seven sons—the legend of Jamaimaroni—Chakma lullabies—Love-songs—Story of Dhanpati and the enchanted tree—Hill proverbs.**

I PROPOSE in this chapter to deal with some of the more important festivals and religious ceremonies in vogue amongst the hill tribes, and also to give the reader a general idea of their quaint folklore and traditions.

Many of the fairy tales are extremely interesting, and are as carefully worked out in detail as those delightful tales of Hans Andersen that were the delight of our childish days.

The lullabies used by the mothers to soothe their infants are full of tenderness, while the love-songs convey the pent-up emotions in quaintly pretty phrases. The similes may appear somewhat crude to our civilised ideas, but it must be remembered that with these people they represent things in daily use and most essential to the general welfare of the community. To deal properly with this interesting subject would require a separate volume, as each tribe has its own store of folklore. I shall, therefore, confine myself to a narrative of those current in some form or other throughout the district.

*Festivals.*

Of the festivals the "Mahamoni" is certainly the most important, and in some form or other it is celebrated by all the tribes of the Hill Tracts, and is therefore deserving of a lengthy description.

The Mahamoni is the great festival of the year amongst the Maghs and Chakmas, and marks the close of the year. It is celebrated on Bishu day, the last day of the Maghee year in honor of Buddha Gaudama,\* and the occasion is seized on to combine business with pleasure and to thoroughly enjoy an *al fresco* picnic of three days' duration. The ceremonial dates fall in the second week of April, when the days are not too hot and the nights are pleasureably balmy. The principal meeting place is at a temple on the estates of the Mong Raja, situated in the regulation district of Chittagong, some two miles from the banks of the Karnaphuli river. The site of the temple could not have been better selected. It is situated at the junction of the plains and hills in the midst of a beautiful grove of Nageswar trees (*mesua ferrea*). These trees afford excellent and ample shade to all for the purpose of bivouacking. They are in full bloom at this season, and fill the air with the delightful fragrance of their beautiful white flowers. As the days of the festival approach crowds of Maghs and Chakmas in village parties, numbering from five to twenty or even more, may be met on road and river. They are a jovial throng, free from care, decked in holiday attire, and brimful of glee and laughter. The fatigues of the journey are unheeded in the round of light chaff, song and dance with which they beguile the tedium of the way. A drummer leads the procession, cheering any flagging spirit with a vigorous tattoo and his own comical gyrations, while every few minutes the party will, in an excess of good spirits, give forth in unison the "hoya," or hill cry. The parties consist principally of young men

\* Buddha Gaudama, also called Gautama or Sakyamuni, the founder of Buddhism, more correctly a great reformer of that religion, lived 600 B.C. and is the 4th Buddha. The son of the King of Magadha (Benar), he is reputed to have lived a fast life as a youth, but struck with the variety of earthly things, he became an ascetic and renounced his worldly prospects.

and maidens with one or two staid elderly people as *chaperones*. The festival is distinctly one for youth, and the great majority of marriage-troths are pledged in the silent shade of the Nageswar grove. To the west of the groves stands the temple, in the centre room of which, and facing the main entrance, sits an enormous gilded stone figure of Gaudama over twenty feet in height. This entrance is so narrow that two persons can scarcely pass in abreast, but the room is to these devotees their Holy of Holies. Around it runs a square vaulted corridor some ten or twelve feet in breadth and one hundred and sixty feet in length, which also has a narrow doorway in the centre opening out into a courtyard which is walled in. The priests are seated at the feet of the huge image on a high raised masonry platform, and there they tell their beads and await *largesse* from the crowd of devotees that attend the festival. Each party of hill people as it arrives passes in front of the temple, and, without entering, makes obeisance to the image with folded hands and bent head, and then hurries off to secure a tree under which to camp. The native merchants from the plains, like vultures, have scented out the carcase, and collect in hundreds to fatten on the hillman's hard earned and carelessly spent savings of the year. There are the ubiquitous *bunniahs* (money-lenders), with greasy smile and false weights, ready to advance a little on account on the security of the hillman's silver jewelry. Brass workers with *thalis* (plates) and *lotas* (water-pots) to tempt the coming bride, coppersmiths, sweetmeat-sellers, bathed in perspiration, assiduously manufacturing the snakey *jelabi* or stirring up the evil-looking *rassa-golas*—both sweets, however, the delight of the hill people—cloth merchants with selections of various colored silk handkerchiefs and gaudy caps which will soon adorn

the pretty heads of the Magh girls, sellers of imitation silver jewelry and colored glass beads and bracelets, who will all drive a roaring trade, and also the vendors of concertinas and paper flowers, whose stock-in-trade is sure to be cleared out at a very handsome margin of profit. The usual variety of side-shows, each with its small tent or enclosed space and gorgeous poster announcing the presence of the strong man of Asia, the living skeleton, the performing dogs, parrots and pigeons, and numberless other marvels, the mysterious glories of the peep-show, the exhilarating merry-go-rounds, and many other excitements, each vying with the other for the generous patronage of the open-handed hill-folk.

The hill people will spend the night in cooking, eating and discussing the probable delights of the morrow, and very little time will be allowed to rest wearied limbs that have probably tramped sixty miles or more across the hills in a couple of days. The festival day opens with great rejoicing. Outside the temple enclosure will be found the stalls of money-changers, who also sell colored wax candles, similar to those that adorn our Christmas trees; for part of the devotee's duty is to light candles at the shrine of Buddha. Near the entrance gate of the temple are seated the shaven-headed and saffron-robed "Thang Pora," or priests, each under his own umbrella and telling his beads with a vacant stare, while a heap of copper coins grows in front of him. The party bearing their candles then enter the temple, and going into the inner room prostrate themselves in humble obeisance before the great image. There they light their candles and set them up at its feet, showering their coppers on the platform on which the idol rests, ensuring a rich harvest for the attendant priests. Then with a





PHUDDHISI PRIESTS OR THAKURS



contented sigh of duty fulfilled, they rise and adjourn to the outer corridor. Here they link arms and go round and round the square, laughing, singing and dancing, lighting colored fuses—for the passage is quite dark—and throwing down paper crackers, while at intervals all join in the “hoya,” which echoes and re-echoes through the corridor, and finally break into ripples of sound like peals of elfish laughter. The lads make quite free with their partners, and a general flirtation is freely indulged in. Occasionally the green-eyed monster, jealousy, steps in, when a young man takes off another’s sweetheart, or is too endearing in his demonstrations of friendship to the choice of another, but these ebullitions are soon smoothed over and harmony is restored. The temple is kept crammed full both day and night, but no Bengali may enter. They have no objection to the European walking in, but expect him to remove his boots when entering the temple. Outside, the fair is a veritable kaleidoscope of colour—dancing-boys gaily blowing whistles or playing concertinas; the girls with Nageshwar blooms in their hair and decked out with all sorts of finery, the gifts of their ardent admirers and lovers: a truly happy crowd bent on fun and frolic. The two days pass away all too soon, and the party breaks up, the hill people to return to their every-day life and regale the less fortunate ones who have remained in the village with fabulous tales of the splendours they have seen and the magnificent time they have spent. The sacred grove is given over to a Mahamoni for the Buddhists of the plains, a very tame affair in comparison with the one celebrated just before by these children of the hills.

Before reaching the age of ten, Magh and Chakma lads will go through a religious rite approaching in significance the confirmation ceremony of the Church

of England. All the lads of the village who have reached a suitable age are assembled before the Khyong Ghur, or village temple. The heads of the lads are first shaved and they are then robed in the saffron-colored gowns common to the Buddhist priesthood. Each lad is accompanied by his father or guardian, and they are made to seat themselves in a semi-circle before the priest, with their guardians seated behind them. The guardians then place offerings, according to their means, before their respective charges, and also a little lighted *chirag* or earthen-lamp, which they keep burning brightly during the ceremony. The lads sit with folded hands and bowed heads, and make the responses after the priest, and are expected to keep their thoughts wholly concentrated on religious matters throughout the ceremony. This ceremony is called *Shiang-pruhpo* by the Maghs, and is celebrated in the beginning of the year. It is in some cases repeated two or three times in after-life, but the ceremony then partakes of the nature of a penance. On the completion of the ceremony the lads must reside for a week or ten days in the Khyong Ghur, during which time they dress and live as the priest. On the expiry of this period of seclusion the ordinary every-day life is resumed.

In former years, before our advance into the Lushai country, there used to be an annual gathering of the clans at Rangamati, at which the Deputy Commissioner used to exhort the confiding savage to live at peace with his enemies, and return good for evil to those that would unjustly persecute him—copy-book maxims that were backed by presents of coloured blankets and a liberal allowance of rum. I fear these precepts were treated with stoical indifference, the blanket was exchanged for more liquor and the savage, having spied out the trick, would return unawares and raid some



III RANGAMATI TALK SHI





GYMNASTS ON THE MAIDAN







THE CROWD WATCHING SPORTS



### *Chilagong Hill Trade*

unsuspecting hamlet, putting all except ~~young~~ ~~to~~ ~~death~~ and reaping a plentiful harvest of heads. These gatherings with their political aspect were ~~slowly~~ abandoned. In 1903 I held a small agricultural and industrial fair at Rangamati, and received a grant of two hundred rupees from Government towards the expenses. Though the number and quality of the exhibits were poor, yet a goodly gathering of hill-people assembled and enjoyed themselves much. In 1904 the attempt was abandoned owing to an outbreak of cholera, but in 1905 a successful gathering was brought off. The exhibits were chiefly samples of cotton, food and oil-grains and vegetables, as also varieties of home-woven cloths. In addition to the fair there were boat races which proved a great attraction and the prizes for which were keenly contested by crews from the different villages. Athletic sports received a considerable amount of support, especially tugs-of-war of a hundred or more aside, the winning team bursting into peals of triumphant "Hoiyas," while the losers loudly cast aspersions on the fair play of the winners. A well-greased pig almost brought on a miniature civil war amongst the competitors for its capture, and should be avoided as an item in future programmes. Fortunately the greasy pole restored the mental equilibrium of the heated hill-men, and this event provoked much amusement.

In addition to sports, there were performing gymnasts and parties of strolling players conjurers who entrained the simple people with their respective arts. A ~~ms~~ lantern exhibition dealing with local scenes was watched with intelligent interest, and large crowds always surrounded the performers. ~~brays~~ ~~and~~ ~~other~~ ~~noisy~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~obnoxious~~ ~~hill~~ ~~men~~

I think that these annual gatherings should receive every encouragement, as it enables the Chiefs, headmen and people to collect together and exchange ideas with each other, as also with the representatives of Government. The presence of the Commissioner of the Division lends great *eclat* to the gathering, and enables him to learn something of the people and their ways.

Among the Kuki tribes village feasts are held in great esteem, and it is considered the bounden duty of the Chief or village headman to give at least one great feast in his lifetime. This feast is known as "Kung choi" throughout the hills.

All the neighbouring Chiefs and headmen are invited, and the event is made the occasion for a tremendous orgie. The giver of the feast will slay several domesticated gyal, pigs, goats and fowls, and a vast quantity of liquor will be prepared. The slaughter of the gyal is attended with hideous cruelty. The poor wretches will be belaboured with bamboos to make the meat tender; they will then be speared in different parts or even shot with arrows, and the death-agony is long drawn out; when dead, they are skinned and the flesh chopped up into cubes, only the offal being thrown away. The meat is then thrown into large vessels, water and salt is added, and the whole boiled. No spices or vegetables are used. This is the only method they have of cooking, and the result is a very uninviting mass of gobbets of sodden meat. Large quantities of rice are boiled and emptied out in a heap on plantain leaves or bamboo mats, with the meat placed by the side of it. The guests are helped to a huge quantity of each, and this they simply bolt in large mouthfuls until each one is completely gorged. The true enjoyment of the feast is the subsequent adjournment to the liquor-pots.

The drink is ladled out into horns and cups, and these are filled again and yet again. The liquor begins to take effect, the fun commences. Songs are sung, some get up and dance, the broadest jests are passed, and the women come in for many demonstrations of affection from their particular friends. Gradually an argumentative spirit creeps into the fun, and light banter and chaff will merge into vindictive insinuation or open insult. The drink goes merrily round the whole time, and the flow will not cease till the guests have reeled off to their homes in a helpless state of intoxication or subside on the floor in a drunken stupor. It is considered a very fortunate termination if this end is reached without a general affray. When such a thing does occur very hard knocks are exchanged, in some cases with very serious if not fatal results.

It is considered imperative for all the relations or connections of the Chief or headman to contribute food and drink to this feast, but the nominal giver takes the whole credit of the show to himself.

The horns of the gyal and skulls of the other beasts that have been slaughtered are mounted on wooden posts outside the Chief's house as a memento of the desinterested liberality of the donor of the feast.

There are many varieties of feasts given by the rich and poor alike. Hospitality is ingrained in the hillman, and his great ambition is to possess a reputation for great hospitality. A *sine qua non* of all feasts is that they can only be terminated when the guests reach a paralytic state of drunkenness.

#### *Traditions.*

There are several traditions of a great flood that took place centuries ago, and of these I give a couple:—

(1) There was a very great drought in the land, and the Chief finally offered his only daughter to any one

that could procure rain. The Spirit of Waters undertook the task, and was successful. Rain fell continuously for months and gradually flooded the whole country, finally driving the inhabitants to take refuge on the highest mountain. The unfortunate Chief could not make up his mind to part with his beloved daughter: and still the rain poured in torrents, and the rapidly rising waters threatened shortly to submerge their last refuge. Finally, the people took the law into their own hands and flung the girl into the rising waters, whereupon the rain ceased and the floods subsided—for the Spirit of the Waters was appeased.

(2) That there was a continuous rain for a long period, so that the highest mountains were submerged and only two people survived, a brother and sister of royal birth. These were saved by clinging to a large earthen liquor-pot. When the waters finally subsided from the face of the earth the couple married, and made themselves a rude habitation to live in: but they had to subsist on roots and jungle fruits. One day the man found a pigeon fluttering on the ground. He captured and took it home to his wife, who killed it and was preparing it for food, when she discovered that the bird's crop was full of maize and rice. This she carefully preserved and planted in a small *jūm*, and surprised her husband one day by producing a quantity of grain. This crop enabled them to replenish their world with grain:

*Folklore.*

In early times there reigned a great king by name Baranasi. He had seven wives, each of whom was blessed with a son to the general satisfaction of the people. These seven sons were very carefully brought up and received a good education. One day dragons in the

The story of the King Baranasi and his seven sons.

form of flying horses came and devoured the mangoes and other fruits in the King's garden. The King was exceedingly angry, and ordered six of his sons to keep watch and prevent the dragons from devouring the fruit. The brothers, however, went away and played instead of keeping watch, and during their absence the dragons came and ate more fruit. The King reproved his sons and sent his best beloved and youngest son to watch. The boy gladly obeyed his father, and arming himself with his bow and arrows—for he was a great archer—commenced to watch in the garden. Presently the dragons arrived and the intrepid boy was about to shoot when they besought him to spare them, and he finally consented, after exacting a promise that they would hold themselves in readiness to come to his aid at once if he ever summoned them. This they engaged to do, and the lad then helped them to some fruit and sent them away. The King was delighted at his beloved son's success, and banished the other brothers; but the youngest son would not stay alone, and followed his brothers into exile. The seven brothers journeyed afar until they came to a Kingdom, the King of which possessed a most beautiful daughter and no other children. This Princess, in addition to being most beautiful, was extremely clever, and a very skilful horse-woman, and she possessed the swiftest steed in the world. Her father pressed her to marry so that he might get a male heir, but she said she would only marry the man who could defeat her horse in a race. The father had to be satisfied with this, and issued a challenge to all the Princes from far and wide to come and compete for the hand of his daughter. The fame of her great beauty drew many competitors, and amongst others the six brothers determined to try and win her. They took no count of their youngest brother, and left

him behind in the forest to mind their house. The youngest brother was sorrowing at being left behind, when he suddenly remembered the claim he had on the flying horses, and he summoned one to come to him. Immediately the horse appeared before him, and, mounting it, he was transported to the spot where the princess were about to race with the daughter of the King. In the race the Princess easily defeated all competitors with the exception of the youngest brother, who easily out-distanced her on his flying steed. As he was disguised he was not recognised by his brothers, and after the race he was spirited back to his house in the forest, and all effort to find the winner was in vain. The six brothers on their return to the house boasted of their own riding, and said one of them would surely win the princess. Races were held on six different occasions, and each time a mysterious stranger on a splendid steed defeated the Princess and immediately vanished. At last the Princess was sick with love for the victor, and getting possession of his secret from a wizard she traced the young Prince to the forest. There they mutually exchanged their feelings of love and went back to the palace, where the Princess introduced the victor as her lover and husband. The father was very delighted with the Prince and cheerfully ratified the match and made him his heir. The six brothers in the meantime had returned to their house and missed their youngest brother, and after much search they sorrowfully concluded that he had been waylaid and devoured by a tiger, and prepared to return to their own country. But the youngest brother appeared and declared himself to them; and after feasting them, he loaded them with presents and sent them to fetch his father, the King. On their return there was great rejoicing and the two Kings took the oath of friendship. On their deaths the



youngest son succeeded them and reigned over both kingdoms.

Many years ago a certain king was blessed with an only and most beautiful daughter. The fame of her beauty was noised abroad, and many young and noble princes came from distant lands to try and win her hand in marriage. The King, however, loved his daughter so dearly that he could not make up his mind to part with her, and finally fixed on a practically impossible task which must be accomplished before his daughter's hand could be won in marriage. This task was to jump off a precipitous cliff into the river and swim to the other side. This terrible ordeal, however, did not deter the young gallants from attempting it, and many perished, being either dashed to pieces on the rocks or drowned. But so surpassingly beautiful was the girl that suitors, undeterred by the fate of their predecessors, still came to attempt the impossible. One day a very handsome young prince came to the King and claimed to attempt the ordeal. The King's heart went out to the beautiful lad, and his daughter at first sight fell desperately in love with him. The King was very miserable at the thought of the certain destruction that awaited the lad if he made the attempt, and he did his utmost to persuade the young Prince to return to his home; but the prince was now bewitched with the dazzling beauty of the Princess, and refused to listen to the King's advice. It was finally settled that the attempt should be made on the morrow, and all retired to rest. The King's sleep was very troubled, and in his dreams there appeared an old woman who came to his bedside and, touching him, said: "Why is your heart melted, and why does the Princess, your daughter, even now weep and vow she will destroy herself?" The King

The legend of  
"Jama Maroni," or  
the bridegroom kill-  
ing

told her all and besought her aid. The old woman told him to get four stout pillows well stuffed with cotton and bind them round the Prince's body, and then give him an open umbrella and let him leap from the cliff: no harm, she declared, would befall him. The old woman vanished as suddenly as she had appeared. In the morning the King told his daughter of the dream, and she went and confessed her love to the young Prince and besought him, for her sake, to carry out the instructions, which, after very great persuasion, he consented to do. Arrived at the appointed place he was attired as the directions of the dream required, and was given a large umbrella to hold. The young Prince without hesitation took the dreadful leap, and great was the astonishment of the crowd to see him gently fall into the water and float across the river. The young prince, was brought in triumph to the King, who, overjoyed at his safety, at once bestowed on him his daughter's hand in marriage and appointed him heir to the kingdom.

The cliff where this trial took place is called in the Chakma language Jamai Maroni, or the bridegroom's killing. It is situated at Chitmoron, on the Karnaphuli river, and now falls within the Sitapahar forest reserve.

*Chakma Lullabies.*

- (1) A kúlé kolá gách oi kúlé chhara na kánis bábúdhon ghumja bhangiba golá.

Oh infant mine! thy body is smooth and tender as the young plantain tree, sleep gently and do not cry; crying will but hurt thy tender throat, and change the soft crooning of thy voice to harshness as the gentle murmur of the streamlet grows hoarse by the swollen waters of the flood.

- (2) Sonaro dhulonám ruparo dori na kánis bábúdhon ghúmjá dhulo not pori.

Thy cradle is golden, with network of silver: let its beauty delight thee, till, dazzled, thy eyes close and in sweet slumber repose.

- (3) Kérénjoo dhulnám kerédá chak na khánis lakhá burá ghúmjei thák. Aloo kochoo mileiyé máthaidi dogoré the billéiye.

Your cradle is made of a flowery design, and is finely woven with "korak" cane to make it beautiful and strong. So sleep quietly my darling; for if you do not, pussy who is purring near your head will scratch your soft and tender body, which is more tender than boiled *aloo*s and *kochoos* (yams).

Áloo pátá tháloo re kúshya pátá myong no kánis lakhi bura oli dake dyong.

Your body is softer than the tender leaves of the yams; if pussy, whose claws are sharper than the leaves of the sugarcane, should scratch you, you will be hurt my little darling, so sleep quietly.

- (5) Dárú túli jaríphúl na kánis bábúdhon rángum sárattún ja bábé áni diba nárekul.

As the physician gathers the "jariphul" for his patients, your father will also purchase and bring you a cocoanut from Rangoon, so do not cry my baby darling, but sleep quietly.

*Chakma Love-songs.*

- (1) Másé khélo shilo khéi no délé toré mor chikan béi na parong théi.

As the little fishes of the hill stream cannot live without weeds that grow on the stones, I also love you so, my darling, that I cannot live without seeing you.

- (2) Urés pákhi tol ohhei yá sarido noparim to méi yá.

The birds may cease to fly on high, but you will always possess my heart's deep love.

- (3) Chhorá chhari beel haba jor hado pán khilik heel habo.

As the fishes delight when the streams and pools are full of water, so will my heart delight if I can but receive a *pán* from your dear hands.

- (4) • Banot dogorér haring sho joré no délé morimba.

If I do not see you I shall die, my darling, as the deer of the forest that called and called for its mate till it died.

- (5) Dingi kúlémbi to ghatot mor ashal múl poran to hátat.

The bark of my soul is anchored at your ghát, my heart is wholly yours do with it as you please;

or

I am yours body and soul, do with me as you please, my darling.

#### *Fables.*

In the days when the Chakma tribe lived in the valley of the Matamuri river, there resided in one of the villages four young men named Sárádhon, Nilák-dhan, Kunjádhan and Rádhámon, and also a most beautiful girl called Dhanpati and her three fair companions, Sárábi, Nilábi and Kunjábi. The girl Dhanpati was a general favourite in the village, and there was great rivalry amongst the four friends who sought to win her favour.

One day when the young girls were amusing themselves in the Youngsa stream, they perceived some Bengalis of the plains coming along, weeping and uttering lamentations. Dhanpati and her friends hastened

The story of Dhanpati and the Enchanted Tree.

back to the village, and meeting Sárádhon, she entreated him to go and enquire the cause of the Bengalis' sorrow. This Sárádhon at once proceeded to do. They told him that they had been cutting bamboos a day's journey up-stream, and that while at work a most delicious scent had been wafted to them by the breeze. Moved with curiosity they tried to trace the marvellous fragrance to its source, but after a fruitless search all but three gave up the endeavour. The three, however, continued, and at last on a hill they espied a tree with silver branches laden with golden blossoms, from which emanated the delicate perfume. The three Bengalis hastened to possess themselves of some of the blossoms, when suddenly a huge black tiger with a white star on its forehead dashed out upon them, killing two of them. The third escaped with difficulty and returned to the party, which then fled together. The men, they said, who had been slain were their near relations, and hence their sorrow. Sárádhon returned and acquainted Dhanpati with the story, but he discredited the tale of the golden flowers, as he was intimately acquainted with the whole neighbourhood and had never seen or heard of the existence of such a tree. The news had a strange effect on Dhanpati, who was seized with an intense craving to possess a branch of the tree with its golden blossoms. She fretted in secret, and wasted slowly away with the intensity of her desire. The physicians were called in, but their treatment had not the slightest effect on the mysterious disease from which the poor girl suffered. Her girl friends became alarmed at her condition and besought her to confide in them, and finally she told them of her wild desire and said she would die if it was not gratified. The girls went and told Dhanpati's parents, who were greatly grieved and tried to dissuade their daughter from the idea, but all to no

effect, and finally in desperation they proclaimed that anyone who could secure a branch with flowers from the enchanted tree should marry Dhanpati. At the time most of the youths were absent from the village, having gone to attend the Chief's court, where the annual display of archery, sword-play and athletics was taking place. The youth Sárádhon, however, was in the village, and congratulating himself on the absence of his rivals, immediately started off confident in his powers of being able to secure the flowers and win the coveted prize. Armed with a sword he started on his quest and reached the bamboo-cutter's shed, and was searching for the tree when he was surprised and slain by the black tiger. In the meantime the other youths, with the exception of Rádhámon, who had been detained by the Chief, returned to their village. Nilákdhon at once determined to attempt to win Dhanpati as his bride, and started in quest of the golden flowers: but he also fell a prey to the black tiger. The news of these disasters reached Rádhámon, who obtained permission from the Chief to return to his village. On his arrival he at once announced his intention of fetching the golden flowers, but the parents of Dhanpati besought him not to attempt the venture: but Rádhámon refused to listen to reason. Armed with his trusted sword and a spear Rádhámon quietly left the village, but he was no foolhardy person and determined to proceed with the greatest caution. So when he reached the bamboo-cutter's hut he quietly slept there, and the next morning he cautiously approached the spot by a circuitous route. Arrived in the neighbourhood he climbed a tree and perceived the enchanted tree with the black tiger asleep at the bottom. Rádhámon then quietly got down from the tree and returned to his village to concoct a scheme for farther action. He went and saw Dhanpati and

assured her that he would most certainly secure her the flowers, and after receiving her parents' blessing he removed himself to the court of the Chief, with whom he was a very great favourite. They consulted together and the Chief caused a suit to be manufactured for Rádhámon from the hide of the rhinoceros, and also a shield from the same material. Rádhámon now determined to make the attempt to secure the flowers and went to the bamboo-cutter's shed. Here he performed a *puja* to the spirit of the forest as also to Mothiya, the goddess who guards against the attacks of tigers. He then laid himself down to rest for the night. He dreamt that a woman of extraordinary beauty came and sat by his side and said: "I am Mothiya, and am pleased to accept your *puja*. I now endow thee with all my strength; the tree you seek is an enchanted one that has been placed there by the King of the Genii to test your strength; remember that you must on no account pluck the first flower with your hand; it must be taken by the means of a string made from the hair of the maiden Dhanpati, who must accompany you to the tree. You will find a squirrel to whom you will give the string, and he will tie it to a flower and give the end to Dhanpati, who will then pluck the first flower, after which you can gather them freely. You will slay the tiger by the strength I have given you: skin him, and then cut off some flesh from each limb. Then take five flowers from the tree, light a fire and throw the flesh and flowers into it. The tree and tiger-remains will vanish, and you will find Sárádhon, Niládhon and the two Bengalis standing by your side." The lovely vision then disappeared. In the morning Rádhámon returned to his village and told Dhanpati the dream, and persuaded her to accompany him to the bamboo-cutter's shed where they slept.

night. In the morning they made a string from some of Dhanpati's hair, and then started for the spot where the tree grew. When they neared the spot the black tiger charged down at Rádhámon, but protected by his armour he attacked and slew the brute with his sword. They then approached the tree and Rádhámon saw a squirrel to whom he gave the string made from Dhanpati's hair, and commanded him to lower a flower from the tree to Dhanpati. The squirrel obeyed, and then Dhanpati cut off several branches laden with golden flowers. Rádhámon then skinned the tiger, cut some flesh from each limb, and lighting a fire flung it, together with five flowers, into the flames. A dense cloud of smoke immediately enveloped them, and when it had cleared away they were standing in the forest with Sárádhon and Nilákdhon and the two Bengalis beside them. There was left no sign of the enchanted tree or the dead tiger. They hastened back to their village where the recovery of the missing men was celebrated with much feasting, and Rádhámon and Dhanpati were married amidst great and general rejoicing, at which the Chief himself was present. At the same time the friends Sárádhon, Nilákdhon and Kunjádhon were married to Sárábi, Nilákbi, and Kunjábi, and great happiness reigned in the village.

*Hill Proverbs.*

- (1) It is given to the wisest man to make mistakes.
- (2) Crow loudly in your own village, but cluck as the hen in the village of another.
- (3) Scorch the bottom of a new boat and beat a new wife.
- (4) Tender grass suits aged cows; aged men seek young wives.
- (5) The fat sleep, the lean eat.
- (6) A fool will fear death, the wise the hereafter.



## CHAPTER XII.

Sporting tendency of Hill men—Training of youth—  
Traps and snares for big Game and birds—High  
estimates of shikar-prowess, Varieties of big game—  
kukis avoid rhinoceros—Variety of sport—Fishing—  
Seasons—Varieties of fish, snakes and other reptiles—  
Insect life—Conclusion.

THE inhabitants of the hills are all keen sportsmen, and start their training at a very early age. Armed with a pellet bow and a plentiful supply of sun-baked clay pellets, the hill-boy goes forth seeking what he may destroy. Woe betide the squirrel or any small feathered game that may come within reasonable distance of his deadly aim. I was having my *chhota hazri* one day in the verandah of a village house, and seeing a lad armed with a pellet bow I stuck an egg-shell on a post and offered a prize of four annas if he could hit the shell in three shots. The lad smiled blandly, and took up a position some fifteen paces distant from the post. The first pellet stuck the post, the second smashed the eggshell to pieces. I thought this might have been only a lucky shot, and placed a second shell on the post and repeated the offer. The eggshell this time did not survive the first shot. I noticed two or three young sportsmen carelessly strolling up with pellet bows: they evidently scented money in the game, but I was content with the prowess I had already seen and made no further offers.

The youths are carefully trained in the manufacture and setting of snares and traps, and considerable skill and ingenuity are shown in their construction. The

following are some of the traps and snares in general use. Should a tiger or leopard be worrying a village community, a spot is selected on the village road, the jungle is cleared, and a trap is set on the principal of the three-bricks-and-a-tile trap that used to delight our youthful days. Several heavy logs are cut in lengths of sixteen feet; these are strongly bound together with cane or creeper. They are then raised on a slant and carefully balanced on a support. A hole is dug in the centre of the space beneath the logs, and inside this a young pig securely tied up so that he cannot struggle. A rope is attached from the bound pig to the support. The pig vociferates loudly against its enforced restraint, but cannot move. The large felines have a marked partiality for pork, and should one be within hearing distance the cries of the pig are sure to attract it to the spot. The attempt to drag the porcine bait from the hole loosens the prop, and the logs fall and squash the intruder as flat as a pancake. Advantage is taken of the knowledge that animals will always pass along paths through the jungle, or which communicate with water, to set spring traps and nooses along them. A gun is generally set for a tiger, and sharpened bamboo spears for pig and deer. The spear may be attached to a strong bow, or a pliant sapling is cut and bent down and the spear attached to it; a piece of cane fixed to the bolt that holds the spear in position is stretched across the path; the advancing animal strikes the attachment; this releases the bolt, and the animal receives the charge of the gun or the spear in its side, and is as a rule instantaneously killed, or if wounded is tracked down by the village dogs and then killed. Occasionally a human being falls a victim to these horrible traps. I recall an instance where a stalwart young Chakma set a spear

for pig on the approach to his ~~jam~~ and forgot all about it. In the evening, hearing his dog barking furiously at the edge of the jungle, he picked up his gun and ran to the spot, expecting doubtless to find the dog had brought some game to bay. He rushed into the trap he had himself set and was impaled through the stomach on his own spear, dying a horrible death. The strictest orders are in force that when such traps are set the approaches must be marked to warn any one that may be passing along the path, but, in spite of all precautions, accidents occur. A noose set to a strong sapling that has been bent to the ground is a favourite way of snaring pig or deer. The foot strikes the catch in the centre of the noose, releases the sapling, and the animal is hung up by the leg. In the Lushai Expedition days we had a Gurkha sepoy who put his foot into such a noose when on the march, and was at once swung up into the air to his great agitation and discomfort, but to the huge delight of his comrades. I once found a sambur stag hung up in one of these traps, and a passing tiger had taken advantage of the situation to have a good meal off the catch. I sat up in a tree, hoping to account for the tiger, but he did not return. Occasionally a big hunt will take place. A high fence is erected across a big stretch of country, different sized openings are left, and in these are set spring guns, spears, nooses, heavy logs, &c. The beaters surround the country and drive everything towards the fence, and the game, endeavouring to escape through the openings, fall a victim to one or other of the traps set. Strong rope nets sometimes take the place of the fence: the driven game gets entangled in the nets, and is then speared or clubbed to death. This method is only indulged in by the wealthy, as such nets are very costly. The reader will wonder how any game can possibly survive, but he must remember that

the area of the Chittagong Hill Tracts alone is over five thousand square miles, and of this more than a quarter is reserved forest in which no hunting is allowed, and an excellent and safe refuge is afforded to bird and beast in which to propagate their respective species. In addition to the above area are the large tracts of country which comprise Independent Hill Tipára, the Chin, Lushai, and Arracan Hill Tracts, and the reserved forest in the Chittagong district. The whole of this country is densely covered with forests and very sparsely populated. The hillmen levy a heavy toll on the bird-life of the district by means of elaborate snares. The use of the decoy jungle-fowl is a favourite method, and is as follows:—The decoy-cock is kept covered up with a cloth, when a suitable spot is found. The decoy-bird fastened to a string is pegged down in the open near the jungle where the wild birds have been heard calling. The diameter of the circle in which the bird is fastened will be from fifteen to twenty feet. Running-nooses made of pineapple fibre are set round the circumference, each noose touching the other and about three inches off the ground. The decoy-bird is, therefore, surrounded with a circle of nooses. The man retires to a suitable place of concealment and awaits developments. The decoy bird, finding himself free, soon flaps his wings and gives a shrill crow. The challenge is speedily taken up by the wild jungle cock, and a series of crows are interchanged. Suddenly a rustling is heard in the jungle, and out rushes a brilliant plumaged jungle cock in a high state of indignation at the intrusion of a foreign bird on his own preserves. His comb and wattles are purple with wrath. He catches sight of the decoy-bird, and with lowered crest and ruffled neck he charges down to engage the intruder in mortal combat. Alas his valour is in vain; his rush is stopped by a noose, the hillman

## *Shittagong Hill Tracts.*

emerges from his hiding-place, wrings the poor bird's neck, takes up the decoy and nooses, and sets forth to seek a fresh spot; for it is useless to attempt a second capture on the same ground. The taste of birds for berries is carefully studied, and when such a tree is found in fruit it is systematically noosed all over, and the unfortunate birds on coming to feed are caught in numbers. If a nest is found with eggs or young nooses are so skilfully arranged that the parent birds are invariably captured. The Kukis are the keenest of hunters, and a successful *shikari* or hunter is held in high esteem. The name of "Tanghua," the equivalent of our Nimrod, or a great hunter, is given to him, but to gain this distinction the hunter must have slain an elephant, gyal, big bear, sloth bear, stag and wild boar. It will be remarked that the tiger is omitted. The reason for this is that the flesh of the tiger, though eaten, is not particularly sought after. In addition to this a considerable risk attends an individual attempt to shoot a tiger with a flint gun, and the Kuki will never dream of taking any unnecessary risks. His marvellous skill in jungle craft enables him to slay the other varieties of game with the minimum amount of risk to himself. The shooting of an elephant from a big tree in itself constitutes a great deed of valour, and formerly ranked only second to securing a human head.

Trophies of the chase are greatly valued among the Kuki, and the verandah walls of each house are decorated with the skulls and heads of the various animals that the master of the house or his ancestors may have slain.

The Hill Tracts abound in big game of all sorts, and excellent sport can be enjoyed by those who care to devote a month or two to the pursuit of big game. Elephants are found in numbers, but shooting them is prohibited by law. A few years ago the Kukis used to organise hunting expeditions, and entering the

Tracts they destroyed numbers of elephants. The tusks were extracted and as much meat as they could carry was smoked and taken back to their village. Baked elephants' feet have the reputation of being excellent eating, but smoked elephant I know to be an utter abomination.

The two-horned variety of rhinoceros is fairly plentiful, the valleys of the Thega, Mynee and Tuichong being their favourite haunts. Rhino are to be found on the feed in the early morning and are easily killed if hit in the right spot—the neck and base of the ear are deadly spots. A wounded rhino should be treated with respect and attacked with great caution; for it will charge furiously and can inflict fearful wounds with its incisors, which resemble the tusks of the wild boar but are considerably thicker. The rhinoceros uses his horn only for purposes of grubbing up roots and tearing down succulent creepers. Rhino horn is greatly prized by the Chinese, who work it up into amulets and charms. The black ivory will fetch as much as forty rupees a pound. The flesh and powdered horn are also considered a certain cure for barrenness amongst Hindu women. I once received an urgent request from a former Inspector of Police, who had served under me in Bengal, for some of the above, and as luck would have it the Gurkhas of the Police Battalion had recently shot a rhino and I was able to gratify his desire. The remedy apparently proved efficacious, and I earned his lifelong gratitude.

The Kukis will not interfere with a rhinoceros, as they say it brings very bad luck, the truth being that they are afraid of the animal and dare not attack it. The flesh of the young rhino is excellent eating, and a steak is very succulent. Gyal, which are akin to the Indian bison or gaur, are found all over the district; the best hunting grounds are to the north, in the neighbour-

hood of Ramgar and Manikcherri. April and May are the best months for stalking. The *chhas* grass has then been fired, and the new shoots of grass are springing up on the hillside. Gyal are extremely partial to this grass, and the herds come in the morning and evening to graze on these open spaces, and can then be fairly easily approached.

Buffalo, though rare, are to be found in the upper reaches of the Pheni and Mynee rivers.

Sambur, serow, and barking-deer are to be found throughout the district, and occasionally cheetal; while wild pigs are numerous everywhere. Tiger and leopard are occasionally met with, and it is always advisable to carry a rifle in addition to a shot gun. I was jungle-fowl shooting with a party on Christmas Day of 1901, and the beaters had just entered the jungle, when I saw a tiger quietly moving down the hillside towards me. I exchanged my shot gun for the rifle, and bowled him over as he was crossing the open about fifty yards from where I was posted. The same day we accounted for two fine sambur stags, in addition to a bag of jungle-fowl pheasants and a couple of woodcock—a mixed bag that should satisfy the most fastidious of tastes. On another occasion we were out, and a tiger bounded over the head of the ladies of the party who had accompanied the shooters, and were sitting quietly in the shade of a nala. The tiger was subsequently secured, though at the moment he got off without a single shot being fired at him.

Jungle-fowl shooting is very good sport, and much resembles pheasant shooting at home in outlying spinneys. Excellent bags can be obtained by beating the patches of jungle that are found at the fringe of the hills in the neighbourhood of cultivation. January and February, when all the crops are off the ground, are

best months for this sport. In beats of this nature the kalij and argus-eyed pheasants are frequently put up, as also snipe and woodcock. The latter birds come in about November and leave in March. Snipe arrive very early and can be shot in the middle of August; they stay late, and I have shot several in May. The pintail are in the majority, but the common or "full" snipe are also found.

The sportsman who is fond of fishing can get lots of it, for the rivers of the Hill Tracts teem with fish. The Karnaphuli is the easiest river to fish. Mahaseer abound, and they run very big. I have seen a fish over eighty pounds in weight caught by a hospital assistant with an ordinary bamboo having a strong line and a hook baited with a piece of plantain. As soon as the fish was hooked he abandoned the rod, jumped into a small boat, and followed the fish, which dashed off downstream, dragging the bamboo pole after it; this acted as a break, for after some time the fish became quite exhausted, and was ignominiously towed to shore and landed some three miles below the spot where it was originally hooked. The hysterical delight of the Babu on securing this monster was too comical for words. The fish was strung up on a paddle and carried by two hillmen, while the Babu danced in front shouting incoherent sentences relative to his marvellous skill and prowess. The natives frequently catch monsters in a similar way with baits of boiled rice, plantains or flour-paste. I have never landed a fish over twenty-four pound, and that I caught one hot summer's morning. The fish would not look at spoon or live-bait, but I noticed that several big fellows were on the feed at the tail end of a rapid. On examining the water I saw that a lot of fresh water moss or weed was floating down, and the fish were taking this as a dainty salad.



I wrapped a lot round a *chilwa* tackle-hook and sent it floating down the rapid; to my delight I saw a mouth gently open and my bait sail into it. This fish beyond the first mad rush showed no fight, but a fish of half his weight that I hooked with the same lure gave me an exciting half-hour. The months of March, April and October are best for fishing in the Hill Tracts, and a two-inch spoon is the best all-round bait. The following fish can also be caught on a rod:—Butchwa, Mirga, Culta and Ganniah, and varieties of fresh-water sharks. All these fish run to a huge size, and veritable monsters are brought to shore by a big drag net. The fresh-water sharks will run to two hundred pounds, and are the most repulsive looking monsters, with huge heads and wide jaws in which are set rows of dog teeth. As a game fish they are on much the same level as the pike, but as regards size and teeth they have been aptly compared to a tiger and a cat. The natives call them *bage-mas* or tiger-fish. In the rains all the big fish ascend the hill streams to a high elevation to deposit their spawn; they can only get up in the flood season and then return. The young fish are hatched in the shallows long after the big fish have returned to their regular haunts in the big rivers, and the fry are safe from the voracious appetites of their own species. The hillmen are quite cognisant of the movements of the fish, and erect big fish-dams with bamboo stakes and boulders, with an outlet at one side in the shape of a long funnel lined with bamboo and terminating in a well made with bamboo sides. The fish in the descent shoot through the funnel into the well, and are taken out in basket-loads. In the dry season the hillmen dam up the smaller pools and poison them with the pounded bark of a species of *rooper*. This appears to stupefy the fish, for they rise on the surface and are easily landed in baskets.

of animals, birds and fish will be found in the Appendix.

The number of poisonous snakes is few and fatalities are rare, but the snake-eating cobra (*opheophagus elaps*) is fairly common and grows to a length of twelve feet. I have also seen the daboia, or Russell's viper, keraits and cobras.

There is any number of grass-snakes and big rat-snakes, and also huge pythons running to twenty feet in length.

Large goashaps or Iguana lizards are common, and their flesh is much prized by the hillmen. The totang, or Gekko lizard abound, and very big land tortoises are found, while the small variety are exceedingly plentiful.

Song birds are comparatively rare, but birds of gorgeous plumage abound

Beautiful butterflies, from the most modest to the most brilliant coloring, curious insects, weird beetles of every shape and color, wonderful moths, specially the varieties of hawk moths, abound. While the other side of the picture—scorpions, very large and poisonous centipedes, hideous spiders particularly vicious mosquitos, maddening sand-flies, with several varieties of other flies, all of which have excellent powers for causing the greatest discomfort and annoyance, make up a variety of insect-life that would require a lifetime to do justice to in the matter of description.

#### CONCLUSION.

In dealing with the description of a country where a considerable number of the years of one's official career have been spent, one is apt to appear egotistical. Indulgence is craved for this fault, as it is hard to avoid the constant use of the personal pronoun in a narrative.

## *Chittagong Hill Tracts*

of experiences that have been personally gathered. Throughout the work I have tried to arrange and place them before the reader as consistently as possible in the hope of adding to the somewhat scanty amount of literature dealing with the Hill Tribes of India. The life of a frontier officer, in spite of its many hardships and isolation, has a peculiar charm of its own, and few can help yielding to its weird fascination. The country is capable of great expansion, and doubtless before many years have passed the rich valleys with their countless acres of virgin soil will have yielded to the plough. The dark and silent forests, at present the home of the elephant and tiger, will be succeeded by fields of smiling corn. But with this change the hillman, with his simple ways and curious customs, will also disappear, and the charm and innocence of his present life will be a dream of the past. That this fate will finally overtake the Hill Tracts I have not the slightest doubt, for the changes and progress of the last few years are in themselves an indication of what is to come. It seems well, therefore, to collect while we may all available data as to the manners and customs of these interesting peoples ere, with the resistless march of evolution they merge forth and become identified with the people of the plains.

In conclusion, I have to record my debt of deep gratitude to my friend the Reverend George Hughes, of the London Baptist Mission, to whose generous and ready assistance the compilation of this work is principally due.

My acknowledgments are due to Mr. Risley, C. S. I., I. C. S., and Captain Lewin, as also to the Deputy Conservator of Forests, Chittagong, for kindly furnishing me with details in connection with Forest Administration. I must also warmly thank my numerous friends

among the Hill Tribes for providing me with subject-matter for my notes. I am hopeful that they may appreciate this record of their country which they have so materially assisted me in writing. To them and my readers I now bid adieu in the well known Kuki farewell—

DAM TAK IN OMRO:  
MAY YOU REST IN PEACE.

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# THE CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS REGULATION, 1900.

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## APPENDIX A:

### A REGULATION

TO

*Declare the law applicable in, and provide for the administration of, the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bengal.*

WHEREAS it is expedient to declare the law applicable in, and provide for the administration of, the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bengal; It is hereby enacted as follows:—

#### CHAPTER I.

##### PRELIMINARY.

Short title, extent and commencement.

1. (1) This regulation may be called the Chittagong Hill Tracts Regulation, 1900.

(2) It extends to the Chittagong Hill Tracts; and

(3) It shall come into force on such date as the Local Government may, by notification in the Calcutta Gazette, appoint.

Definitions.

2. (1) In this Regulation—

(a) the expression “Chittagong Hill Tracts” means the territories for the time being defined as such by notification under sub-section (2): and

(b) “Commissioner” means the Commissioner of the Chittagong Division.

(2) The Local Government may, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council, by notification in the Calcutta Gazette, define the boundaries of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and may, in the like manner, vary those boundaries.

#### CHAPTER II.

##### LAW.

3. Subject to the provisions of this Regulation, the administration of the Chittagong Hill Tracts shall be carried on in accordance with the law in force for the time being in force under section 10 of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Act, 1900.

Chittagong Hill Tracts how to be administered.

4. (1) The enactments specified in the schedule, to the extent and with the modifications therein set forth, and so far as they are not inconsistent with this Regulation or the rules for the time being in force thereunder, are hereby declared to be in force in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

(2) No other enactment heretofore or hereafter passed shall be deemed to apply in the Chittagong Hill Tracts :

Provided that the Local Government may, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council, by notification in the Calcutta Gazette,—

- (a) declare that any other enactment shall apply in the said Tracts, either wholly or to the extent or with the modifications which may be set forth in the notification ; or
- (b) declare that any enactment which is specified in the schedule, or which has been declared to apply by a notification under clause (a) of this sub-section, shall cease to apply in the said Tracts.

### CHAPTER III.

#### APPOINTMENT AND POWERS OF CERTAIN OFFICES.

5. The Local Government may, by notification in the Calcutta Gazette,—

- (a) appoint any person to be the Superintendent of the Chittagong Hill Tracts ; and
- (b) appoint so many Assistant Superintendents and other officers as it thinks fit to assist in the administration of the said Tracts.

6. The Local Government may by, notification in the Calcutta Gazette, invest any Assistant Superintendent with all or any of the powers of the Superintendent under this Regulation or the rules for the time being in force thereunder, and define the local limits of his jurisdiction.

7. The Chittagong Hill Tracts shall constitute a district for the purposes of criminal and civil jurisdiction and for revenue and general purposes; the Superintendent shall be the District Magistrate, and, subject to any orders passed by the Local Government under section 6, the General Administration of the said Tracts in criminal, civil, revenue and all other matters, shall be vested in the Superintendent.

8. (1) The Chittagong Hill Tracts shall constitute a sessions division, and the Commissioner shall be the Sessions Judge.

(2) As Sessions Judge the Commissioner may take cognisance of any offence as a Court of original jurisdiction, without the accused being committed to him by a Magistrate for trial and, when so taking cognisance, shall follow the procedure prescribed by the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, for the trial of warrant-cases by Magistrates.

9. The Local Government shall exercise the powers of a High Court for the purpose of the submission of sentences of death for confirmation under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, and the Commissioner shall exercise the powers of a High Court for all other purposes of the said Code.

10. The Superintendent may withdraw any criminal or civil case pending before any officer or Court in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and may either try it himself or refer it for trial to some other officer or Court.

## CHAPTER IV.

### ARMS, AMMUNITION, DRUGS AND LIQUOR.

11. (1) The Superintendent may fix the number of firearms and the quantity and description of ammunition which may be possessed by the inhabitants of any village, and may grant permission either to such inhabitants collectively or to any of them individually, to possess such firearms and ammunition as he may think fit.

(3) All firearms for the possession of which permission is given under sub-section (1) shall be marked and entered in a register.

(4) Any permission granted under sub-section (1) to possess firearms and ammunition may be withdrawn by the Superintendent, and thereupon all firearms and ammunition referred to in such permission shall be delivered to the Superintendent or one of his subordinates.

(4) The Superintendent may grant permission to any person to manufacture gunpowder, and may withdraw such permission.

(5) Whoever, without the permission of the Superintendent, possesses or exports from the Chittagong Hill Tracts any firearms or ammunition, or manufactures any gunpowder, shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both.

(6) The Superintendent may, with the previous sanction of the Local Government, by order in writing, direct that sub-sections (1), (3), (4) and (5), or any of them, shall not apply in any village specified in the order.

12. (1) The Superintendent may, with the previous sanction of the Commissioner, by order in writing, prohibit all or any of the inhabitants of any village from carrying daos, spears and bows and arrows, or any of those weapons, in any tract to be defined in the order, if he is of opinion that such prohibition is necessary to the peace of such tract.

(2) Every order made under sub-section (1) shall specify the length or time during which it shall remain in force.

(3) Whoever disobeys an order made sub-section (1) shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine, or with both.

13. (1) Whoever, except under and in accordance with license granted by the Superintendent, imports, exports, manufactures, possesses or sells opium, ganja or charas, or any preparation thereof, or ~~cultivates~~ any plant from which opium, ganja or charas can be produced, shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine, or with both.

(2) Notwithstanding anything contained in sub-section any person may possess, for domestic use, five tolas of opium, ganja or charas, or of any preparation thereof, without having a license granted by the Superintendent.

14. (1) Whoever, except under and in accordance with a license granted by the Superintendent, exports or sells foreign spirit or liquor, shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three months, or with fine, or with both.

Foreign spirit and fermented liquor.

(2) Nothing in this section applies—

(a) to the import by any person, for his private use and consumption, and not for sale, of any foreign spirit or fermented liquor on which duty has been paid; or

(b) to the sale of any such spirit or liquor legally procured by any person for his private use and consumption and sold by him, or by auction on his behalf, or on behalf of his representatives in interest, upon his quitting a station or after his decease.

*Explanation.*—For the purposes of this section, the expression “foreign spirit or fermented liquor” means any spirit or fermented liquor not manufactured or produced in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

15. Whoever, except under and in accordance with a license granted by the Superintendent, exports or sells spirit or fermented liquor manufactured or produced in the Chittagong Hill Tracts shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three months, or with fine, or with both.

Locally made spirit and fermented liquor.

## CHAPTER V.

### MISCELLANEOUS.

16. The Chittagong Hill Tracts shall be deemed to be a general police-district within the meaning of the Police Act, 1861, and Bengal Act VI of 1869 (an Act to amend the constitution of the

Police.

force

~~Regulation~~, and the Commissioner shall exercise therein all the powers and authority conferred on an Inspector-General of Police.

17. (1) All officers in the Chittagong Hill Tracts shall be subordinate to the Superintendent, who may revise any order made by any such officer, including an Assistant Superintendent invested with any of the powers of the Superintendent under section 6.

Control and revision.

(2) The Commissioner may revise any order made under this Regulation by the Superintendent or by any other officer in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

(3) The Local Government may revise any order made under this Regulation.

18. (1) The Local Government may make rules for carrying into effect the objects and purposes of this Regulation.

Power to make rules.

(2) In particular and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing power, such rules may—

- (a) provide for the administration of civil justice in the Chittagong Hill Tracts ;
- (b) prohibit, restrict or regulate the appearance of legal practitioners in cases arising in the said Tracts ;
- (c) provide for the registration of documents in the said Tracts ;
- (d) regulate or restrict the transfer of land in the said Tracts ;
- (e) provide for the subdivision of the said Tracts into circles, those circles into taluks, and those taluks into mauzas ;
- (f) provide for the collection of the rents and the administration of the revenue generally in the said circles, taluks and mauzas through the chiefs, diwans and headmen ;
- (g) define the powers and jurisdiction of the chiefs, diwans and headmen, and regulate the exercise by them of such powers and jurisdiction ;
- (h) regulate the appointment and dismissal of diwans and headmen ;

- (i) provide for the remuneration of chiefs, headmen and village officers generally by the assignment of lands for the purpose or otherwise as may be thought desirable ;
- (j) prohibit, restrict or regulate the migration of cultivating raiyats from one circle to another ;
- (k) regulate the acquisition by Government of land required for public purposes ;
- (l) provide for the levy of taxes in the said Tracts ; and
- (m) regulate the procedure to be observed by officers acting under this Regulation or the rules for the time being in force thereunder.

(5) All rules made by the Local Government under this section shall be published in the Calcutta Gazette and, on such publication, shall have effect as if enacted by this Regulation.

19. Except as provided in this Regulation or in any other enactment for the time being in force, a decision passed, act done or order made under this Regulation or the rules thereunder, shall not be called in question in any Civil or Criminal Court.

20. Act XXII of 1860 (*an Act to remove certain tracts on the eastern border of the Chittagong District from the Jurisdiction of the tribunals established under the general Regulations and Acts*), Bengal Act IV of 1863 (*an Act to amend Act XXII of 1860*) and so much of the second schedule to the Scheduled Districts Act, 1874, and of the Repealing and Amending Act, 1891, as relates to either of the enactments aforesaid, are hereby repealed.

XIV of 1891  
XXII of 1860

(The Schedule.—Enactments declared in force in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.)

**THE SCHEDULE.**

(See Section 4.)

ENACTMENTS DECLARED IN FORCE IN THE CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS.				
Mutilations.				
Year.	No.	Short title of subject.	Extent of applications.	
1	2	3	4	5

*1.—Acts of the Governor-General in Council.*

1850	V	The Indian Slavery Act, 1843.	So much as may, from time to time, be in force in the district of Chittagong.	
1850	XVIII	The Judicial Officers' Protection Act, 1850.	Ditto ditto.	
1850	XXXIV	The State Prisoners Act, 1850.	Ditto ditto.	
1857	XI	The State Offences Act, 1857.	Ditto ditto.	
1858	III	The State Prisoners Act, 1858.	Ditto ditto.	
1860	XLV	The Indian Penal Code.	Ditto ditto.	
1861	V	The Police Act, 1861.	Ditto ditto.	
1864	VI	The Whipping Act, 1864.	Ditto ditto.	

For section 6 the following shall be substituted,  
namely :—  
“ 6. Notwithstanding anything in the foregoing sections, a person convicted of any offence may be punished with whipping in lieu of, or in addition to, fine of, or in addition to, any other punishment to which he may be liable.”



1872	I	The Indian Evidence Act, 1872.	Ditto	ditto.
1877	XV	The Indian Limitation Act, 1877.	Ditto	ditto.
1878	VII	The Indian Forest Act, 1878.	Ditto	ditto.
1879	VI	The Elephants' Preservation Act, 1879.	Ditto	ditto.
1897	X	The General Clauses Act, 1897.	Ditto	ditto.
1898	V	The Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.	Ditto	ditto.
1898	VI	The Indian Post Office Act, 1898.	Ditto	ditto.

Nothing in the Code shall apply to cases tried by the chiefs, diwans or headmen in exercise of the powers conferred upon them by rules made under section 10 of this Regulation.

2.—Acts of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in Council.

1860	VII	Police	So much as may, from time to time, be in force in the district of Chittagong.
1899	I	The Bengal General Clauses Act, 1899.	Ditto ditto.

3.—Regulation of the Bengal Code

1816	III	The Bengal State Prisoners Regulations, 1816.	So much as may, from time to time, be in force in the district of Chittagong.
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A.—Regulations made under the Government of India Act, 1870 (33 Vict., c. 8).

1881	III	The Chittagong Hill Tracts Frontier Police Regulation, 1881.	.....	For the "Deputy Commissioner," wherever they occur, the word "Superintendents" shall be substituted.
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**POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.**

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**NOTIFICATION—No. 128P.D.**

*The 1st May 1900.*—In exercise of the power conferred on him by section 18 of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Regulation, 1900, the Lieutenant-Governor is pleased to lay down the following rules for the administration of those Tracts:—

**RULES FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE  
CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS.**

**ADMINISTRATION OF CIVIL JUSTICE.**

The administration of civil justice shall be conducted in the most simple and expeditious manner compatible with the equitable disposal of the matters or suits.

2. The officer dealing with the matter or suit will, in the first instance, endeavour, upon the *oïd voce* examination of the parties, to make a just award between them. Witnesses should not be sent for, except when the officer is unable without them to come to a decision upon the facts of the case.

3. The record shall contain the following particulars, namely, the name of the plaintiff, the name of the defendant, the nature of the claim or other matter in litigation, an abstract of the plaintiff's case, an abstract of the defendant's case, an abstract of the depositions of the witnesses (where witnesses are examined), the grounds of decision, and the order signed and dated.

4. Court fees shall not be levied in any matter or suit.

5. For the service of process fees shall be payable at the rate of six annas per diem, according to the number of days the journey takes from the nearest police-station.

6. In the issue and enforcing of processes and the execution of decrees, the officers shall be guided, as far as may be, by the provisions of the Code of Civil Procedure.

XIV of 1882.

In the case of processes and decrees received from Courts of other districts, the following rules shall be observed:—

(1) The Superintendent shall serve all processes and execute all decrees which are sent to him for service or execution by Civil

Courts outside the Chittagong Hill Tracts Courts, and which are accompanied—

(a) by an English letter explaining, in the case of a decree, the nature of the suit and forwarding, in the case of a decree, a copy of the judgment; and

(b) by the fees prescribed by the High Court.

(2) In any case in which, owing to boat-hire or the carriage of rations or similar causes, the cost of service or execution will exceed the fees received, the Superintendent will stay service and will state the cost to the Civil Court concerned, and request that the requisite amount be forwarded.

(3) In any case in which the Superintendent finds that the process should not be served, or that the decrees should not be executed, he will record his reasons for so finding, and will at once forward them to the Civil Court concerned, and will retain the process or decree and fees till final orders are passed.

(4) In either of the cases provided for by rules (2) and (3), the Civil Court concerned may refer the Superintendent's orders directly to the Commissioner of Chittagong, and the Commissioner shall pass orders on such reference and communicate them directly to the Civil Court concerned. If any Civil Court desires to make a reference from the Commissioner's orders, such reference shall be addressed to the District Judge for the orders of Government.

(5) The Superintendent will serve the processes and execute the decrees referred to in these rules by the agency of his nazir or of the circle chiefs, or of the registered headmen, according to the rank and status of the person on whom the process is to be served or who is the judgment-debtor. The police may not be employed in such service or execution except to convey the sealed orders to the agent selected for service or execution.

(6) The Superintendent will in every case report on the service of the process to the Civil Court concerned, and, as regards the execution of decrees, will keep up communication with such Court till the case is disposed of.

7. The rate of interest decreed by the Courts shall in no case exceed 12 per cent. per annum.

8. Deeds which must be registered under the rules following for the registration of deeds shall not be allowed to be filed in any suit unless they have been duly registered.

9. Suits shall be admitted only on registered bonds in all cases in which registration would be compulsory if the transactions out of which the claims arise were completed by the execution of bonds.

10. All orders passed in civil suits shall be appealable to the Commissioner, who may decide by whom the costs in any such appeal shall be paid.

#### LEGAL PRACTITIONERS AND AGENTS.

11. No legal practitioners shall be permitted to appear in any matter; and, in all cases where the Chiefs are personally concerned, they are, as far as possible, to be personally dealt with. Agents are only to be allowed when the personal presence of the Chief is inconvenient and impracticable, and they must not be legal practitioners.

#### REGISTRATION OF DEEDS.

12. Deeds of the following kinds shall be registered, provided that the property to which they relate is situated, or the work or act to which they relate is to be performed within the Chittagong Hill Tracts:—

- A.—Deeds of sale, gift, partition, or mortgage of immoveable property.
- B.—Leases of immoveable property for any term exceeding one year.
- C.—Bonds, Promissory notes, and engagements for the payment of money.
- D.—Engagements or contracts for the delivery of produce or goods of any kind or for work to be done.
- E.—Wills and authorities to adopt.
- F.—Certificates of discharge of mortgage.
- G.—Deeds appointing a manager of any estate or property.

13. Deeds not included in the above list may or may not be registered, and they will not be inadmissible in Court by reason of non-registration.

14. No engagement to do anything illegal, immoral, contrary to public policy or manifestly impossible, will be registered.

15. If any document duly presented for registration is in a language which the Registering Officer does not understand, and which is not commonly used in the district, he shall refuse to register the document, unless it is accompanied by a true translation into a language commonly used in the district, and also by a true copy.

16. It shall be in the discretion of the Registering Officer to refuse to accept for registration any document in which any blot, interlineation, blank, erasure, or alteration appears, unless the persons executing the document attest, with their signatures or initials, such blot, interlineation, blank, erasure, or alteration; and it shall be his duty, at the time of registering the document, to make a note in the register of such interlineation, blank, erasure, or alteration.

17. No instrument relating to immoveable property shall be accepted for registration unless it contains a description of such property sufficient to identify the same.

18. No deed, other than a will or authority to adopt, shall be accepted for registration if not presented to the proper officer within three months of its execution, unless good cause for the omission be shown to the satisfaction of such officer, in which case if the delay in presentation does not exceed four months, the deed may be registered on payment of four times the ordinary fee.

19. Any will or authority to adopt may be registered at any time.

20. The functions of the Registering Officer shall be performed by the Superintendent or by such other officer as the Local Government may appoint for the purpose.

21. Every document to be registered shall be presented by some person claiming under or executing the same; but no document shall be registered unless the persons executing it or their representatives or assigns or agents (where agents are required under rule 22) appear before the Registering Officer at the execution. Any person refusing to attend when required

the Registering Officer, or refusing to take oath, or answer questions put, or sign statements made by him, or making any false statement to the Registering Officer, shall be punishable under the Indian Penal Code.

22. Agents will, as a general rule, be allowed to conduct registration only in behalf of (1) Hill Chiefs and persons of high rank; (2) European gentlemen, and (3) *parda-nashin* women. Only agents who are of known respectability, and are personally acquainted with the facts of the case, will be permitted to conduct registration.

23. A fee, as follows, must be paid before registry:—

	Annas.
For a lease to a cultivating raiyat ...	2
For any deed under heading A in rule 12 ...	8
For any deed under heading C in rule 12 when the liability incurred is less than Rs. 50 ...	2
For the same when liability is not less than Rs. 50 or more than Rs. 800 ...	4
For the same when the liability is indefinite or is more than Rs. 800 ...	8
For engagements under Heading D in rule 12 when the period embraced is not more than three months ...	4
For the same when the period is indefinite or is more than three months ...	8
For any deed under heading E in rule 12 ...	8
For any deed under heading F in rule 12 ...	4
For any deed under heading G in rule 12 ...	8
For all other deeds, including those registered under rule 13 of these rules ...	8

24. Persons may be allowed to inspect the books in which deeds are copied, or to take a copy of a deed on payment, in advance of a fee of eight annas, besides any necessary charge for copying.

25. The registering officer will, before he registers a deed, satisfy himself that the parties appearing before him are really

those whom they profess to be, and that they clearly understand the nature and purport of the deed.

26. He shall then record on the deed an endorsement in the following form :—

At (the hour) on this (the day) month, and year), A. B., son of , resident of and R. F., son of of , resident of recognised by me (or) duly identified by H. resident of , appeared before me and acknowledged their execution of this deed and satisfied me that they fully understood its purport.

27. The deed, with the endorsement, shall then be copied without delay into a book previously paged and signed by the registering officer. The copy shall be attested by the registering officer, and the original shall then be returned to the party entitled to receive it.

28. The registering officer shall keep in a separate book a memorandum, in order of dates, of all deeds registered and refused registry, as follows :—

Date of registry or refusal of registry.	In what book and in what page registered, or for what reasons registry was refused.	Names and residences of parties.	Nature and date of deed.
1	2	3	4

29. When a register into which deeds have been copied is filled up, an alphabetical index of the parties to the deeds contained shall be appended to it.

30. All actual and necessary expenses connected with registration shall be defrayed from the fees realized, and any surplus

required for this purpose shall be disposed of as the Government shall from time to time direct. A regular account of receipts and expenditure shall be kept by the registering officer and submitted to the Commissioner for approval and countersignature once a quarter.

31. The definitions of the words "lease," "moveable property," and "immoveable property," which are contained in the Indian Registration Act, 1877, shall be held applicable to these rules and to deeds registered under them.

III of 1877.

32. The registry book shall be inspected and countersigned by the Commissioner as often as may be found convenient.

33. In any case where registration is refused on the ground that the party who is said to have executed the deed denies his having done so, any party claiming under the deed may sue in the court of the Superintendent within three months of the order of refusal for a declaration of his right to have the deed registered. The registering officer shall be no party to such suit, and a copy of his order of refusal, properly attested, shall be *prima facie* proof that the reason of refusal to register was as therein described. The document in dispute shall be admissible as evidence in this suit, anything in these rules contained notwithstanding.

## THE LAND.

### TRANSFERS, PARTITIONS, AND SUB-LETTING.

34. All lands held for plough cultivation on lease from Government, under whatever rules they have been or may be granted, are subject to the condition that they cannot be sub-let or transferred, except on hereditary succession or with the consent of the Commissioner. No partitions can be made without the consent of the Commissioner. For a tenant to temporarily make over his holding to another person in the case of illness, incapacity, minority, absence on a journey or in the like exigency, is not to sub-let; but in no such case can the tenant recover from his substitute or trustee a higher rent than he has himself to pay.



## CIRCLE DIVISIONS.

35. The Chittagong Hill Tracts comprise the following circles, the boundaries of which are well known and are not in dispute—

- (i) the several Government forest reserves ;
- (ii) the Bohmong's circle, including the tract hitherto known as "Sungoo Subdivisional Khas Mahal;"
- (iii) the Chakma Chief's circle, including the tract hitherto known as "Sadar Subdivisional Khas Mahal;"
- (iv) the Mong Chief's circle.

## TALUK DIVISIONS.

36. The 33 blocks which were formed in 1890 for the census of 1891 have been constituted permanent divisions and are called taluks. They lie as follows in the three circles :—

Bohmong's circle	...	...	18 blocks,
Chakma Chief's circle	...	...	9 „
Mong Chief's circle	...	...	6 „

## MAUZAS.

37. The taluks are subdivided into mauzas. A mauza will ordinarily contain not less than one and-a-half and not more than 20 square miles, including hill, wood, and waste. Wherever there is plough cultivation a mauza will be formed, and its external boundaries laid down on the map. Wherever there is a permanent village, even without plough cultivation, a mauza will be similarly formed. The remaining mauzas will be formed as circumstances allow, and, till defined, will be known as the undefined mauzas.

## ADMINISTRATION OF THE CIRCLES AND MAUZAS.

38. The three Chiefs—the Chakma Chief, the Bohmong, and the Mong Chief—are charged with the administration of the respective circles, and every person residing or cultivating within a circle is subject to the jurisdiction of its Chief, with the exception of Government officers and their families, traders and shopkeepers in bazar and lessees of fisheries and *gajen* blocks.

existing headmen are in charge of the administration of the mauzas. Where they are wanted, headmen will be appointed by the Superintendent in consultation with the Chiefs and the inhabitants of the mauza. Every person, with the exceptions aforesaid, residing or cultivating within a mauza, will be subject to the authority of its headman.

#### COLLECTION OF THE RENTS.

39. The rents in each mauza will be paid to the headman. Every householder residing or cultivating within a mauza is liable to pay rent to the headman, and there may be no remission of that liability, unless sanctioned by the Superintendent. The headman will collect rents under the control and authority of the Circle Chiefs. The Chief and the headman will receive commission on the collections at such rates, respectively, as may from time to time be sanctioned by the Government.

#### ADMINISTRATIVE POWERS OF THE CHIEFS AND HEADMEN.

40. Except in the cases mentioned at the end of this rule, the Chiefs will regulate the affairs of their circles and the action of the headmen within them, with powers of fine, of enforcing restitution, and of imprisonment. Similarly, the headmen will regulate the internal affairs of their mauzas, with powers of fine up to Rs. 25, of enforcing restitution, and of detention till the Superintendent's orders are received. The Superintendent will have general revisional jurisdiction over the exercise of all these powers, and will continue to receive from the police information of the occurrence of cases.

*Excepted cases referred to above.*

(1) Offences against the State, against Government servants, or against public justice.

(2) Riots in which grievous hurt has been caused or deadly weapons have been used.

(3) The following serious offences against the person, namely, murder, culpable homicide, voluntarily causing grievous hurt, wrongful confinement, rape, abduction, kidnaping, and unnatural offences.

(4) Extortion, robbery, dakaity, lurking house-trespass, or house-breaking when the property taken exceeds Rs. 500 in value.

(5) Forgery.

(6) Offences under Chapter IV of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Regulation, 1900.

(7) Any case or class of cases which the Commissioner may specify in this behalf.

### THE RENT.

41. The rent is of four kinds, viz.,—

- (i) the existing joom rent and *begar* ;
- (ii) the plough cultivation rent ;
- (iii) ground-rent for premises used for other than agricultural purposes (shops, &c.);
- (iv) the grass and *garjan khola* rent.

#### *Joom Rent and Begar.*

42. (a) Every joomia, who has by custom to pay joom rent, must pay the joom rent for the Government to the Chief in whose circle he resides, to be collected by the headman within whose mauza he resides. If any such joomia jooms in a different circle or mauza from that in which he resides, he must, in the case of a different circle, pay the full joom-tax for that joom in addition to what he has to pay to his Circle Chief; and in the case of a different mauza in the same circle, he must pay half the full joom rent to the headman of that mauza, in addition to the full rent which he has to pay to his own headman. Plough cultivation gives no exemption from joom-tax to a man who jooms.

(b) The joom book must show separately the jooms and joom-tax for each mauza.

#### *The Plough Rent.*

43. The gazetted officers of Government, the Chiefs, and the headmen may grant to any suitable person wishing to open plough cultivation the requisite authority to do so, specifying the terms.

The plough rent will be collected by the headman under the control and superintendence of the Chief, and it may be paid direct to the Government officers or through the Chief, as is found most convenient in different cases. The headman may assign to any suitable raiyat as much land as it is within the raiyat's power to cultivate himself. For the first three years it will be rent-free. Thereafter it will be assessed by the Superintendent, and the rate once fixed will not be altered for 10 years. The headman will frame a rent-roll (*jamabandi*) for all plough cultivation in his mauza, which, when revised by the Superintendent, will form the basis of the demand. These rent-rolls will be examined, when possible, on the spot every year. Plough cultivation held under leases will, when not forfeited, be included in the rent-roll on the terms of the lease. When the lease conditions have been violated, the lease will be cancelled and the land settled with the actual cultivator as if no lease had been given.

*Non-agricultural Rents and Basars.*

44. The rents for non-agricultural sites will be fixed by the Superintendent, and when so fixed, will be entered on the rent-roll and distributed in the same way as the plough cultivation rent. But this rule does not apply to the cases of bazars, which may be separated by the Superintendent from the mauza and settled by him, and managed either through the headman or direct, as he sees fit.

*Grass and Garjan Kholas Rents.*

45. The grass *kholas*, excepting new grass *kholas* which may come into existence within the boundaries of mauzas (Bengal Government No. 2544P., dated 9th December 1902), will be settled by the Superintendent as hitherto, either yearly or for periods of not more than 10 years in any case, and when settled, their rents will be realised separately and will not be added to the rent-roll or distributed like the rents for plough cultivation and non-agricultural sites.

SERVICE LANDS.

46. In every mauza 50 acres of the best arable land, in one block or in area or areas as nearly approaching 50 acres as may

be practicable, will be demarcated, recorded, and set apart as khas land of Government for the remuneration of the village officials, the headman, the patwari or karbari, if there is one, and the watchmen, if such are appointed, and will be assigned to such officers by the Superintendent to hold rent-free during their continuance in office. No headman may hold, as his remuneration, more than 25 acres of this land; but the rest of it, while unoccupied, may be placed in his charge under such temporary arrangements as the Superintendent sees fit to make. No officer shall have an indefeasible right to transfer such land, or to receive from the Government or from his successor any compensation for improvements made on the land; but the Commissioner may require a newly-appointed officer to pay to his predecessor reasonable compensation for unexhausted improvements.

#### KHAS MAUZAS OF CHIEFS.

47. With the sanction of the Commissioner, a Circle Chief may hold one or more mauzas in his circle as his khas mauza or mauzas, and in that case will be entitled to all the remuneration provided for the headman in addition to his remuneration as Chief, so long as he arranges properly for the performance of the duties of the headman and the mauza officers.

#### INVESTITURE OF THE CHIEFS AND APPOINTMENT AND DISMISSAL OF HEADMEN.

48. The investiture of the Chiefs is regulated by the Bengal Government. The headmen will be appointed by the Superintendent, in consultation with the Chiefs and the inhabitants of the mauzas; they may be dismissed by the Superintendent for misconduct or incompetence after a reference to the Chief concerned. The Superintendent will not be bound in either case by the wishes of the Chief, but full consideration should be given to them. This appointment is not hereditary; but a son, when competent, may be appointed to succeed his father.

#### MIGRATION AND MIGRATING DEFAULTERS AND ABSCONDERS.

49. Migration by cultivating raiyats from one circle to another, though not absolutely prohibited, is to be discouraged.

No cultivating raiyat may so migrate till he has discharged all dues owed by him within the circle and mauza from which he wishes to migrate; and the Chiefs and the headmen are empowered to detain the persons and property of such intending defaulters till the orders of the Superintendent are received. An absconder will not be permitted to resettle within the circle from which he has absconded till he discharges all the dues for which he was liable when he absconded.

#### LANDS REQUIRED FOR PUBLIC PURPOSES.

50. Arable land may not be settled by the headmen so as to interfere with roads or paths, or the public convenience or the requirements of Government, and any settlements made in contravention shall be summarily cancelled. When land, for which a settlement has been sanctioned, is required by Government, it will be resumed on payment of compensation.

J. A. BOURDILLON,  
*Offg. Chief Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal.*

APPENDIX B.

TABLE No. I.—Area, Houses and Population by thanas, with variation since 1891.

DISTRICT, SUB-DIVISION AND THANA.	Area in square miles.	Number of Towns and Villages.	Number of occupied houses in 1901.	POPULATION IN 1901			Population (both sexes in 1891).	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.			NUMBER OF PERSONS PER SQUARE MILE IN			Number of persons per house in 1901.
				Total.	Male.	Female.		1891-1891.			1901.			
								1891	1901	1891	1901	1891	1901	
1	3	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
<i>Chattogram Hill Tracts.</i>														
Chakma	2,481	94	7,695	46,786	27,030	21,756	45,568	+ 7 1	+ 6 6	36	19	18	67	18
Mong	683	128	5,844	31,368	17,227	14,671	22,708	+ 40 4	- 40 7	49	33	33	53	53
Bhomonag	3,066	74	7,871	44,075	23,881	30,196	30,020	+ 13 9	+ 86 8	21	19	10	10	57
Total	6,188	296	21,410	124,763	68,238	66,524	107,286	+ 16 29	+ 5 5	24	21	20	57	57

TABLE No. II.—Religion by thanas, with variation since 1891.

SUB-DIVISION AND THANA.	HINDU.						MURAHAN.					
	1901.		1891.		Variation.		Percentage of variation.		1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
<i>Chattogram Hill Tracts.</i>												
Chakma	2,645	1,446	4,184	2,108	- 1,541	- 693	- 36 8	- 21 6	1,744	224	2,708	205
Mong	10,126	8,786	6,905	5,969	+ 3,221	+ 3,967	+ 46 7	+ 66 8	119	4	205	205
Bhomonag	7,119	6,394	3,680	3,116	+ 3,469	+ 3,173	+ 96 4	+ 101 9	2,563	209	1,205	14
Total	19,890	16,626	14,769	11,093	+ 5,180	+ 5,383	+ 36 7	+ 49 5	4,526	237	4,208	224

		MUSALMAN.				HINDU.				Variation.				Percentage of variation.	
		Variation.		Percentage of variation.		1901.		1901.		Variation.		Percentage of variation.			
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
CHAKMA AND THANA.		14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
CHAKMA OF THE STATION.		- 1,040	+ 119	- 27 5	+ 80 0	22,005	19,907	14,064	+ 2,903	+ 2,123	+ 2,123	+ 17 1	+ 25-5		
Thana		- 107	+ 4	- 47-3		6,903	4,943	4,943	+ 1,960	+ 1,960	+ 40 3	+ 66-5			
Thana		+ 945	+ 123	+ 60-6	+ 211 6	14,943	14,029	14,029	- 984	- 408	- 3 0	- 3-0			
Total		- 211	+ 305	- 4 6	+ 104 5	4,2910	29,971	28,287	+ 4,209	+ 4,100	+ 13 6	+ 11-6			

TABLE No. III—Showing for each thana, the castes, &c., of Hindus, Musalmans, &c., which contribute 1,000 or more persons to the District Population.

CASTES, &c.	DISTRICT TOTAL.		CHAKMA		MONG		BHOJPO.		
	Total.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	3	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Chakma	44,329	23,226	20,903	10,333	17,154	3,654	3,716	1,400	285
Khami	1,469	761	708	1				769	708
Kaku	1,615	841	774	373	316			679	685
Bugh	34,706	18,008	16,608	3,221	2,702	3,497	3,307	11,000	10,000
Burung (Hiv)	10,540	5,333	5,157	109	140			5,204	5,003
Tyura	23,341	12,453	10,809	901	736	9,773	6,738	1,770	1,023
Musalman.									
Shah	4,900	4,514	599	1,733	323	116	4	3,483	267



APPENDIX C.

FOREST RESERVES, TIMBER, &c., WITH SCHEDULE OF RATES AND TOLLS.

			<i>Sq. miles.</i>
<i>Forest Reserves.</i>			
Kasalong	...	...	768
Rainkhyong	...	...	216
Sitapahar	...	...	11
Matamuri	...	...	251
Sangu	...	...	145
Total			... 1,385

The forests contain mixed species of valuable timber trees and also large areas under bamboo and canes.

*Timber.*

*Dilleniaceæ*—

Dabru; *Dillenia indica*. Chambruin; *Dillenia pentagyna*.

*Anonaceæ*—

Topolong; *Alphonsea ventricosa*.

*Capparideæ*—

Kaingtha; *Crataeva religiosa*.

*Bixineæ*—

Chaulmugri; *Gynocardia odorata*. [The seeds of this tree are exported and an oil extracted which is reputed to have healing properties in cases of leprosy and aggravated skin diseases. A tree will yield twenty or thirty seers of seeds, the hill price for the same being Rs. 2 a maund.]

*Guttiferae*—

Kamdeb; *Calophyllum polyanthum*; used for making boats. Nageswar; *Mesua ferrea*; used in making posts for houses—

“Kheong Gars” or temples are made from this wood. It flowers in April, and the flowers have a most beautiful scent. They are much appreciated by the hillmen and are worn behind the ears.

*Ternstroemiaceæ*—

Ohilanni *Schinus Wallichii*,

**Dipterocarpaceæ —**

**Gurjan —**

*Dipterocarpus tuberculatus.*

Ditto *turbinatus.*

Ditto *incanus.*

Ditto *alatus.*

Ditto *pilosus.*

The gurjan furnishes an excellent oil, which formerly commanded a ready sale and was used for mixing colour paints; it was also used for lighting purposes, but has been quite superseded by kerosine. To extract the oil a hole is made in the trunk about three feet from the earth. The tree is then fired, and the oil which collects in the hollow during the night is ladled out in the morning; the hot season is the best time for extracting the oil. Planks are made out of the wood, but do not last well.

**Sterculiaceæ —**

Mula; *Sterculia colorata.*

Udal; *Sterculia villosa*, a fibrous wood from which the hillmen make rope.

Tula; *Sterculia alata*, the silk cotton or "simul" tree.

**Burseraceæ —**

Sil-bhadi; *Garuga pinnata*; used to make house posts.

**Meliaceæ —**

Pitraj; *Amoora Rohituka*; used to make boats.

Chekrassi; *Chiocrassia tabularis*, a good furniture wood.

Surujbed; *Cedrela Toona*; used locally in manufacture of tea chests.

**Sapindaceæ —**

Kusum *Schleichera trijuga*. The ash of this wood is used for dyeing purposes by hillmen. The fruit is like a green gooseberry and acid; the hillmen eat them with salt.

**Anacardiaceæ —**

Telahur; *Drinycarpus racemosus.*

Bofahur; *Schwintonia Schwenchii.*

These two grow to the great heights of 60—90 feet with 15 feet girth; they are very valuable as they

make the best boats; the timber resists the action of salt water, and does not warp.

Bhadi Odina Wodier, make good posts.

Khri; *Holigarna longifolia*.

**Leguminosæ—**

Poichi; *Cassia alata*.

Chakua; *Albizzia stipulata*.

Koroi; *Albizzia procera*.

**Combretaceæ—**

Bohera; *Terminalia belerica*.

Hingori; *Anogeissus acuminata*.

**Myrtaceæ—**

Zebri; *Eugenia gracilis*.

**Lythraceæ—**

Jarul; *Lagerstromia Flos. Reginae*.

This is the best timber in the Hill Tracts. It is in very great demand for the manufacture of "koondah" boats used in Tipara and Noakbali districts. The posts made from jarul if seasoned are impervious to the attack of whiteants. A jarul tree in blossom is a lovely sight.

Banderhola; *Duabanga sonneratioides*, makes good "dugouts."

**Rubiaceæ—**

Kom—*Nauclea sessilifolia*.

**Ebenaceæ—**

Makurkeng; *Diospyros Embryopteris*.

**Sapotaceæ—**

Tali; *Dichopsis polyantha*: much used in the manufacture of battens and rafters.

Lutiam; *Willoughbeia edulis*.

**Bignoniaceæ—**

Shona; *Oroxylum indicum*.

**Verbmaceæ—**

Gamhar or Gambar; *Gmelina arborea*: good timber for furniture and boats.

Goda; *Vitex alata*.

**Urticaceæ—**

Chapalish; *Artocarpus Chaplasha*: an excellent wood for

Lakuch. *Artocarpus Lakoocha*.

**Palms—**

**Bet** ; *Calamus erectus, tenuis and latifolius.*

**Kurujpat** ; *Licuala peltata.*

**Hlyam** ; *Caryota urens.*

**Belpatta** ; *Walliebia Caryotoidea.*

**Ram Supari** ; *Areca triandra.*

There is a very big export of canes from the Hill Tracts.

There are seven varieties known locally as—

(1) Bhudum } These varieties grow to great length. I

(2) Kherak } have had a Kherak cane 450 feet in length,  
with a diameter of 2 inches. They are used to tie up  
the huge timber rafts, and also exported for sticks.

(3) Golak ; in general use for tying up roofing and basket  
work.

(4) Jait ; in general use for tying up roofing and basket work.

(5) Bandori ; ditto ditto.

(6) Kirij ; for chair work.

(7) Chikon ; used as rope inside the houses as clothes' lines,  
and also in basket-work.

**Kuraj pat.** These are used for the manufacture of  
*jungras* and big *chattas* or sunshades, and are largely  
exported.

**Bamboos—**

(1) Mitenga. *Bambusa Tulda.*

(2) Bariala. *B. vulgaris*—used by the common people in the  
plains as posts for house and sheds and in roofs.

(3) Kanta Bariala. *B. arundinacea.*

(4) Kali. *B. auriculata.*

(5) Madi. *Gigantochloa macrostachya.*

(6) Ora. *Dendrocalamus longispathus.*

(7) Lota. *Melocalamus compactiflorus.*

(8) Dolu. *Teinostachyum Dullooa.*

(9) Bajali. *Teinostachyum Helferi.*

(10) Muli. *Melocanna bambusoides.*

The muli is in universal demand for house manufacture. Ora  
and dolu are used for making mat walls.

**FOREST DEPARTMENT, BENGAL, CHITTAGONG  
DIVISION.**

FOREST DEPARTMENT, BENGAL, CHITRAKOOT DIVISION.

SCHEDULE OF RATES AND TOLLS.

HILL TRACTS UNCLASSIFIED STATE FORESTS.				HILL TRACTS RESERVED FORESTS.				COLLECTORATE RESERVED FORESTS.			
Classification.	Girth or in feet and.	Value per running foot.	Rate of payment.	Classification	Quantity	Rate of payment.	Classification.	Girth in feet or Quantity.	Rate per hundred cub.	Rate for trade	
1	3	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
Loes.		Rs. A P.				Rs. A P.					
1. Jarul	Above 4' 6" to 6' 6"	1 14 0	As 10 per cent. ad voteses	1. Jarul green	Per cubic foot.	0 4 0	1 Gambhar, cheapah and kamdeb	Under 4' 6" in girth not authorized to be cut.			
	" 6' 6" " 7' 6"	2 5 4		" dry	Ditto	0 3 0					
	" 7' 6" " 9' 6"	3 1 4									
	" 9' 6" " 11' 6"	4 5 4									
2. Gambhar, cheapah and kamdeb.	Above 4' 6" to 6' 6"	1 0 0	Ditto	2. Green, cheapah, kamdeb, loes, gambhar, chittrasi, bill, teiser and nagewar	Ditto	0 3 0	2. Gambhar, cheapah and kamdeb	4' 6" girth and over per lag per lag	1 0 0	0 0 0	
	" 6' 6" " 7' 6"	1 9 4		" ditto dry	Ditto	0 2 0					
	" 7' 6" " 9' 6"	1 14 0									
	" 9' 6" " 11' 6"	2 10 8									
3. Chittrasi, guryon and nagewar.	Above 4' 6" to 6' 6"	0 14 0	Ditto	3. Green, rot-jon, jan, bollam, pitra, bad, sas, korol, uriam, karul, bandernola, boiral, chahungri, bial, chakun, and tehangri	Ditto	0 2 0	3. Chittrasi, guryon, nagewar, and jarul.	Not allowed to be cut.			
	" 6' 6" " 7' 6"	1 0 0		" ditto dry	Ditto	0 1 0	4. Toon	--- ---			
	" 7' 6" " 9' 6"	1 5 4									
	" 9' 6" " 11' 6"	2 0 0									
4. Toon (haraybed) and teisar.	Above 4' 6" to 6' 6"	0 12 4	Ditto	4. All other kinds, green	Per cubic foot.	0 1 0	4. Teisar (under 4' 6" girth not authorized to be cut).	4' 6" in girth and over	1 0 0	0 0 0	
	" 6' 6" " 7' 6"	1 0 8		" ditto dry	"	0 0 0					
	" 7' 6" " 9' 6"	1 5 4									
	" 9' 6" " 11' 6"	1 12 0									

5. Other timber ..	4' 6" to 6' 0"	6' 0 to 6' 0	Ditto	Teak poles fallen	Each	0 8 0	0 8 0	6. Other timber	4' 6" in girth and over	0 8 0	0 8 0	
	Above 6' 0" to 7' 0"	0 7 8							Under 4' 6" in girth.	0 4 0	0 13 0	
	" 7' 0" to 8' 0"	0 9 4								per log		
	" 8' 0" to 9' 0"	6 10 8										
<b>SCANTLINGS.</b>												
1 Jarul ...	34 sq. inches and under in section	0 3 8	Ditto	1. Jarul ..	Per cubic foot.	9 5 0	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	
	Above 34 to 36	0 4 6										
	" 36 " 48	0 5 6										
	" 48 " 72	0 9 0										
	" 72 " " "	0 9 8										
2. Gambar and gorjon.	24 sq. inches and under in section	0 2 0	Ditto	2 Chapalish, kandehtoon, gambar, chak-rasi, tali, telur, and nagrawar.	Ditto	0 4 0						
	Above 24 to 30	0 2 8										
	" 30 " 48	0 4 8										
	" 48 " 72	0 6 0										
	" 72 " " "	0 8 8										
3. Other scantlings	24 sq. inches and under in section	0 1 6	Ditto	3 Gorjon, jam, bojlam, pitra), bedana, koro, uriam, kar-ful, benderhole, boira), chalmuati, Bhat, chakua, and chuangri.	Ditto	0 3 0						
	Above 24 to 30	0 2 0										
	" 30 " 45	0 2 5										
	" 45 " 72	0 3 4										
	" 72 " " "	0 4 0										
JARUL, KEENS AND UMOKS				4. All other kinds	Ditto	0 1 0						
1. Jarul knees	Under 14" round	1 5 4	Ditto	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	
	From 14" to 20" (5x8)	2 0 0										
	Over 20" to 30" 10' long and under 10' long.	2 10 8										
	Over 30" to 36" 10' long.	4 10 8										
	Over 36" to 39" (10x4).	6 10 8										
	Over 39" " " "	5 5 4										
	For hundred	200 0 0	Ditto.									

\* Selling of trees in classes 1 to 4 under 4' 6" in girth is prohibited.  
 † Government No. 1 of 1904, April 1904.

MIS TREES UPSTANDING BEARS PER ACRE.			MIS TREES RESERVED FORESTS.			COLLECTORATE RESERVED FORESTS.		
Classification.	Size or quantity.	Value per remaining foot.	Classification.	Quantity.	Rate of payment.	Classification.	Quantity.	Rate for remaining foot.
1	3	3	5	6	7	6	9	10
<b>BOARDS AND DUES.</b>		Rs. A. P.			Rs. A. P.			Rs. A. P.
3. Chikenda, bell- man, and timber.	Below 6' in girth .. Above 6' to 9' .. " 9' to 12' .. " 12' to 15' .. " 15' to 18' .. " 18' to 21' .. " 21' to 24' ..	1 12 4 3 7 6 3 7 6 4 6 0 5 5 0 7 5 0 8 10 0	1. Jarnl ...	(Prohibited.)	Rs. A. P.			Rs. A. P.
4. <del>Chikenda, gambhar</del> and <del>bell-man</del> .	Below 6' in girth .. Above 6' to 9' .. " 9' to 12' .. " 12' to 15' .. " 15' to 18' .. " 18' to 21' .. " 21' to 24' ..	1 4 8 1 8 0 2 0 0 2 6 8 3 10 0 3 12 0 3 9 0 3 5 8	3. Chapalish, kamdeh, toon, gambhar, ohik- raan, tall, leleur, and nageewar.	P, r cubic foot.	0 4 6			
5. Pital. ...	Below 6' in girth .. Above 6' to 9' .. " 9' to 12' .. " 12' to 15' .. " 15' to 18' .. " 18' to 21' .. " 21' to 24' ..	0 14 8 1 3 0 1 10 8 1 14 0 2 0 8 2 10 8	3. Gorjon, jam, bolias, piraj, badena, loro, arim, bag, derhola, boira, chalimgri, bhaj, saakua, tehangri, and kartul.	Ditto	0 3 0	Nil	Nil	Nil
6. Other kinds ...	Below 6' in girth .. Above 6' to 9' .. " 9' to 12' .. " 12' to 15' .. " 15' to 18' .. " 18' to 21' .. " 21' to 24' ..	0 9 0 0 12 0 1 4 8 1 10 8 1 14 0 2 0 0	4. All other kinds ...	Ditto	0 1 6			
<b>TREES AND</b> <b>SAPLINGS.</b>		Each ... Do. ...	1. House posts ... 2. Poles ...	Each ... Do.	0 4 0 0 2 0	Nil	Nil	Nil



**FORE.**

	Value	Above 4 1/2' in girth 4 1/2' and under	Nil	Nil	Nil	For cutting fire- wood and brush- wood.	One head load or shoulder- borne bundle.	Each piece 13 0 1 0 0 a year.	Each piece 13 0 1 0 0 a year.
1. Firewood	0 0 0 0 0 0	...	...	...	...	...	100 c. ft.	1 0 0	1 0 0
2. Charcoal	0 0 0	Per mound	Firewood, teakwood branches and tops stacked	1,000 c. ft.	Firewood stacked	...	100 c. ft.	1 0 0	1 0 0
<b>BAMBOOS.</b>									
1. Grass	20 0 0	1,000 No.	1. Orab	1,000 No.	4 0 0	Bamboo	1,000 No.	3 0 0	3 0 0
2. Milanga	20 0 0	1,000 "	2. Milanga	1,000 "	3 0 0	...	...	...	...
3. Tali	20 0 0	1,000 "	3. Tali	1,000 "	3 0 0	...	...	...	...
4. Dolpo	20 0 0	1,000 "	4. Dolpo	1,000 "	3 0 0	...	...	...	...
<b>CLARKIA.</b>									
1. Gallack	15 0 0	1,000 No.	1. Gallack	1,000 No.	3 0 0	Jayat ceas	1,000 No.	1 0 0	1 0 0
2. Rhudain	15 0 0	1,000 "	2. Rhudain	1,000 "	3 0 0	...	...	...	...
3. Jayat and others	15 0 0	1,000 "	3. Jayat and others	1,000 "	1 5 0	...	...	...	...
<b>GRASS.</b>									
1. Sun grass	25 0 0	1,000 bundles	1. Sun grass	1,000 bundles.	3 0 0	Sun grass	1,000 bundles.	1 0 0	1 0 0
<b>MEMBRANACEOUS.</b>									
1. Mosses (building)	0 0 0	100 c. ft.	...	...	...	Stones (building)	100 c. ft.	0 0 0	0 0 0
2. Krus paths	15 0 0	1,000 bundles	1. Krus paths	1,000 bundles.	1 0 0	Krus paths	1,000 bundles.	0 0 0	0 0 0
3. Gorjon oil	0 0 0	Per mound	3. Gorjon oil	Per mound.	3 0 0	...	...	...	...
4. Chamlaugr seeds	40 0 0	Ditto	4. Chamlaugr seeds	Ditto	1 0 0	...	...	...	...
5. Pashan leaves	70 0 0	Ditto	5. Pashan leaves	Ditto	0 15 0	...	...	...	...
6. Chamlaugr seeds	0 0 0	Ditto	6. Chamlaugr seeds	Ditto	...	...	...	...	...

0 Jarul deposits and beds are not allowed to pass.  
 1 The falling of bamboo poles of Jarul, gamsu, bon, shakras, chamlaugr, mangla, talan, gorjon and mosses is prohibited.  
 2 Bundle of 1' 6" in girth. 3 Commissioner's No. 1181, of 20th June 1902, and Commissioner's No. 1182, of 27th July 1902.

**OFFICE OF THE**  
**COMMISSIONER OF FORESTS, BENGAL.**

**Calcutta,**  
**September 1902.**

## APPENDIX D.

## CHAKMA SEPTS OR GOZA.

<i>Chakmas.</i>	<i>Septs or Goza.</i>
<b>Sub-tribes—</b>	
(1) Chakmas.	(1) Ang-coh.
(2) Tangchangyas.	(2) Baga.
	(3) Boong.
	(4) Boongja.
	(5) Babura.
	(6) Baruah—Rajpahariah or Rajpahaliya.*
	(7) Bar Segs.
	(8) Bar Kambe.
	(9) Darjya.
	(10) Dhamai.
	(11) Durjya.
	(12) Faksa.
	(13) Fema.
	(14) Fedungja.
	(15) Heiya.
	(16) Khronje.
	(17) Kurakutuja.
	(18) Kambe.
	(19) Kutuka.
	(20) Laksara.
	(21) Larma.
	(22) Leba.
	(23) Mooluna.
	(24) Pedangri.
	(25) Phema.
	(26) Poah.
	(27) Pooma.
	(28) Raneh.
	(29) Segs.
	(30) Sekkaba.
	(31) Sadanga.
	(32) Teiya.
	(33) Tanya.
	(34) Utsari.
	(35) Wangja.

Quoted in "Tribes and Castes of Bengal," but unknown to Chakmas—

- (1) Amu.
- (2) Bamu.
- (3) Batalya.
- (4) Dawin.
- (5) Dhaona.
- (6) Ichapooha.
- (7) Kala.
- (8) Kengragate.
- (9) Kurjya.
- (10) Woakra.
- (11) Perabhanga.
- (12) Rangyaalunya.
- (13) Shoaliya.
- (14) Wargga.

\* Note.—The Baruah also known as Borgs sept are known as Rajpahariah or Rajpahaliya. In old days the sept inhabited the head quarters village of the ruling Chakmas, but they are now scattered about the Chakma Circle. In all there are still a few hundred persons; two hundred houses have gone into the Hill Tipra.

The Rajpariahs formerly rendered services of watch and ward to the Chief; and though now living in the khas villages, and the Chief, they still render him services on ceremonial occasions. Formerly they were exempted from all taxation, but they are now assessed like the rest of the hillmen.

KHYOUNGTSA, OR RIVER PEOPLE.

*Magh Septs.*

(1) *Rigray Tsa*; people living on the Sungoo river. Rigray is the Magh term for the centre reaches of the Sungoo river, and the race has been known to occupy the Sungoo valley for over 200 years.

(2) *Palaing Tsa*, Palaing is a tributary of the Kolodyne river. The Palaing Tsa Maghs migrated in a body from the Kolodyne and are now settled in the north of the Chittagong Hill Tracts in the Mong Circle.

(3) *Palaing-gree Tsa*; the same as above, but the more important of the sept; the term "gree" signifies greatness.

(4) *Kowk-dyn-Tsa*; hill near Bashkali to the west of Satkania in the Chittagong district.

(5) *Coyeyn Tsa*; stream in Arracan.

(6) *Kyowk-pia Tsa*; somewhere in the direction of the Kolodyne river.

(7) *Cherryn Tsa*; somewhere in Arracan.

(8) *Mars Tsa*; dwellers on the Kolodyne river itself; anything big is called "Mars" and the Kolodyne was the biggest known river in those parts.

(9) *Sabok Tsa*; the Upper reaches of the Sungoo are called by the Maghs Sabok.

(10) *Krong Khyoung Tsa*; from *krong*, a cat. The old Chiefs are reputed to have been fond of keeping cats, and they had a regular keeper for the same called Krong Khyoung.

(11) *Tatng Tehyt Tsa*; the person authorised to stamp the royal seal was Taing-Tohyt.

(12) *Rhin-bu-chury Tsa*; the bearer of the golden cup.

(13) *Kwen Chury Tsa*; bearer of the royal betelnut. The Maghs are tremendous *pán* and betelnut eaters.

(14) *Longpa Tsu*; a place on the Kasalong river, a tributary of the Karnaphuli.

(15) *Paiw Tsu*; on the Matamuri river.

(16) *Nengas*; those who looked after gardens.

(17) *Tangras Tsu*; Jumiaya.

(18) *Mroang Tsu*; admitted from the Mroo.

(19) *Koydangas*. *Koydang*; nomads who rendered slight allegiance to the old Chief. Their representatives are now settled on the Karnaphuli river at Chandraghona and are still a troublesome lot.

(20) *Kola Tsu*; reside on the Matamuri river.

(21) *Lomro Tsu*; outsiders admitted to the tribe.

(22) *Sapriyaja Tsu*.

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APPENDIX E.

MAMMALS, etc.

*Mammals.*

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| Elephant.   | Brown-stumped monkey.                          |
| Rhinoceros, two-horned.   | Himalayan langur.                              |
| Gyal, Methan— <i>Bos frontalis</i> .                            | Capped monkey.                                 |
| Buffalo— <i>Bos bubalus</i> .                                   | Marbled cat.                                   |
| Tiger— <i>Felis Tigris</i> .                                    | Tiger cat, Leopard cat, clouded cat.           |
| Leopard— <i>Felis Pardus</i> .                                  | Oivet cats.                                    |
| Leopard—Asiatic black leopard.                                  | Mongoose.                                      |
| Leopard, Clouded— <i>Felis nebulosa</i> .                       | Fox.   |
| Himalayan black bear— <i>Ursus Torquatus</i> .                  | Marten.  |
| Sloth bear— <i>Melursus labiatus</i> malay bear.                | Hog Badger.                                    |
| Sambhar— <i>Cervus unicolor</i> .                               | Grey and Bay (bamboo) rats; muskrat; fieldrat. |
| Spotted deer— <i>Chestal Cervus Axis</i> .                      | Mice   |
| Ribfaced or barking deer— <i>Cervulus Muntjac</i> .             | Hispid Hare.                                   |
| Himalayan Goat Antelope or Serow— <i>Nemorhoedus bubahnus</i> . | Jackals.                                       |
| Wild boar— <i>Sus Scrofa</i> .                                  | Squirrels—Flying Squirrel.                     |
| Indian wild dog.  | Otters.  |
| Hooluk, or white browed gibbon.                                 | Lemur.   |
| Himalayan monkey.   |  |

*Birds.*

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. Green Magpie.                            | 7. Blue-winged laughing thrush.           |
| 2. Himalayan treepie.                       | 8. Slaty-headed Scimitar Babbler.         |
| 3. Himalayan Jay.                           | 9. Himalayan white-throated thrush.       |
| 4. Rufous-necked laughing thrush.           | 10. Blue-winged Siva.                     |
| 5. Himalayan white-crested laughing thrush. | 11. Gold-fronted <del>Chlorophaps</del>   |
| 6. Necklaced laughing thrush.               | 12. Orange-bellied <del>Chlorophaps</del> |
|   | 13. Orange-bellied <del>Chlorophaps</del> |

## Birds—concluded.

- |                                       |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 13. Fairy blue bird.                  | 45. King-fishers, large and small.      |
| 14. Himalayan black Bulbul.           | 46. Indian Darter—Snake-bird.           |
| 15. Striated green Bulbul.            | 47. Woodpeckers, large and small.       |
| 16. Scarlet Minivet.                  | 48. Parrots of three or four varieties. |
| 17. Rosy Minivet.                     | 49. Hoopoe.                             |
| 18. Maroon Oriole.                    | 50. Shrikes of varieties.               |
| 19. Golden Oriole.                    | 51. Doves of several varieties.         |
| 20. _____                             | 52. Crow pheasant.                      |
| 21. Eastern Baya, or weaver  bird.    | 53. King crow.                          |
| 22. Scarlet Finch.                    | 54. Bhimraj.                            |
| 23. Blue-naped Pitta.                 | 55. Carrion crow.                       |
| 24. Indian _____                      | 56. Raven.                              |
| 25. Green-breasted Pitta.             | 57. Hawks of several varieties.         |
| 26. Hodgson's broad-bill.             | 58. Kites of several varieties.         |
| 27. Long-tailed broad-bill.           | 59. Vultures.                           |
| 28. Great Himalayan Barbet.           | 60. Owls of several varieties.          |
| 29. Great Hornbill.                   | 61. Sparrows.                           |
| 30. Lesser Hornbill.                  | 62. Minahs of several varieties.        |
| 31. Eagle.                            | 63. Jungle fowl.                        |
| 32. Peregrine Falcon.                 | 64. Pea-fowl.                           |
| 33. Shahn Falcon.                     | 65. _____                               |
| 34. Pin-tailed green pigeon.          | 66. Woodcock.                           |
| 35. Hodgson's Imperial Pigeon.        | 67. Cotton teal.                        |
| 36. Black-breasted Kalij Pheasant.    | 68. Whistling teal.                     |
| 37. Bush Quail.                       | 69. Wagtails.                           |
| 38. Blue-breasted Quail.              | 70a. Sand Martens. ;                    |
| 39. Hill Partridge.                   | 71. Swifts.                             |
| 40. Swamp Partridge.                  | 72. Paddy-birds.                        |
| 41. Argus-eyed Pheasant. Ploiceptron. | 73. Boglas.                             |
| 42. Demoiselle crane.                 |   |
| 43. Large Cormorant.                  |   |
| 44. Adjutants.                        |   |

## Fish.

- |  |                        |
|--|------------------------|
| 1. Mahseer— <i>Barbus tor</i> ;            | run to 40 pounds, with |
| 2. Rohu— <i>Labeo rohita</i> ;             | do. 30 occasional      |
| 3. Kalabans— <i>Labeo calbasu</i> ;        | do. 30 monsters.       |
| 4. Mirgha— <i>Cirrhinus Mirgala</i> ;      | do. 40                 |
| 5. White Carp— <i>Cirrhinus Cirrhosa</i> ; | do. 20                 |
| 6. Gula— <i>Gutta bichanani</i> ;          | run to 50              |

Fish—concluded.

- |   |     |    |
|---|-----|----|
| 7. Carnatic Carp— <i>Barbus Carnaticus</i> ;            | do. | 25 |
| 8. Ohital— <i>Notopterus Ohitala</i> ;                  | do. | 50 |
| 9. Fresh-water Sharks;                                  | do. | 50 |
| 10. Baril or Indian trout;                              | do. | 3  |
| 11. Butohwa;  | do. | 30 |
| 12. Ohilwa— <i>Aspidoparia Morar</i> , or Indian Bleak. |     |    |

The above can all be taken with rod and line, and most of them rise to a fly.

There are several varieties of sea fish which enter the estuaries and can be taken by spinning as for salmon. It is advisable to use only the strongest tackle, with wire traces and mounts.

Numbers 10 and 11 give most excellent sport with fly, and if on the feed it is not uncommon at one cast to secure a fish on each fly on a collar of three flies.

Reptiles.

Land tortoises which grow to an immense size.

River turtle.

Crocodiles or *Gavial Gangeticus*; wholly fish-eaters.

Estuarine Crocodile or *Corocodilus porosus*; the worst man-eating crocodile of the east. It will cover its eggs with a big mound of grass or creepers; the heat from the fermentation hatches out the young. It will watch the nest with great care and fiercely attack anything that may approach. Fortunately these brutes are not common.

Goashaps or Iguana Lizard. The flesh is much appreciated by the hillmen.

Armadillos. These are considered the greatest delicacy.

Pythons running up to 20 feet.

King Cobra—*Ophisophagas Elaps*—12 feet.

Russell's Viper *Daboia*.

Cobras.

Kerails.

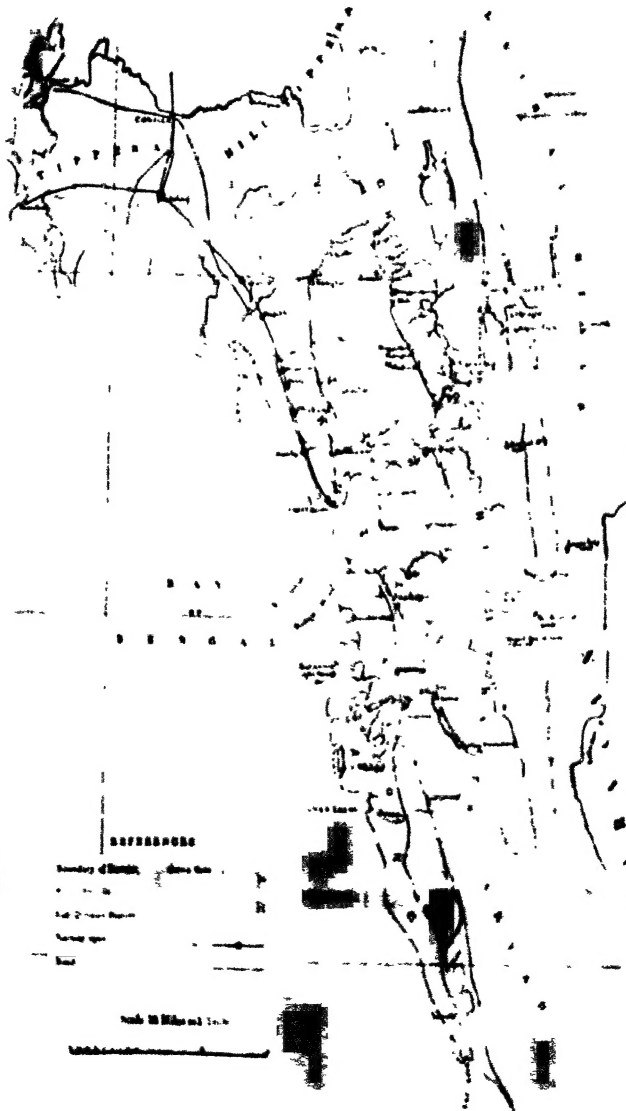
Rock-snakes.

Grass-snakes of great variety and beautiful coloring.

Totang or Gekko Lizard.

Lizards of every variety.

ONTTADONG HILL TRACT  
Eastern Bengal and Assam



**LEGEND**

Boundary of District

Boundary of Sub-Division

Boundary of Thana

Boundary of Village

Boundary of Hamlet

Boundary of Estate

Boundary of Land

Boundary of Water

Boundary of Forest

Boundary of Cultivated Land

Boundary of Uncultivated Land

Boundary of Waste Land

Boundary of Barren Land

Boundary of Salt Land

Boundary of Sand Land

Boundary of Shifting Cultivation

Boundary of Permanent Cultivation

Boundary of Temporary Cultivation

Boundary of Pasture Land

Boundary of Grazing Land

Boundary of Fallow Land

Boundary of Cultivable Waste Land

Boundary of Uncultivable Waste Land

Boundary of Forest Reserve

Boundary of Reserved Forest

Boundary of Protected Forest

Boundary of Reserved Forest Reserve

Boundary of Reserved Forest Reserve Reserve

Boundary of Reserved Forest Reserve Reserve Reserve

Scale in Miles and Furlongs